

The Historical Outlook

Continuing

THE HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE

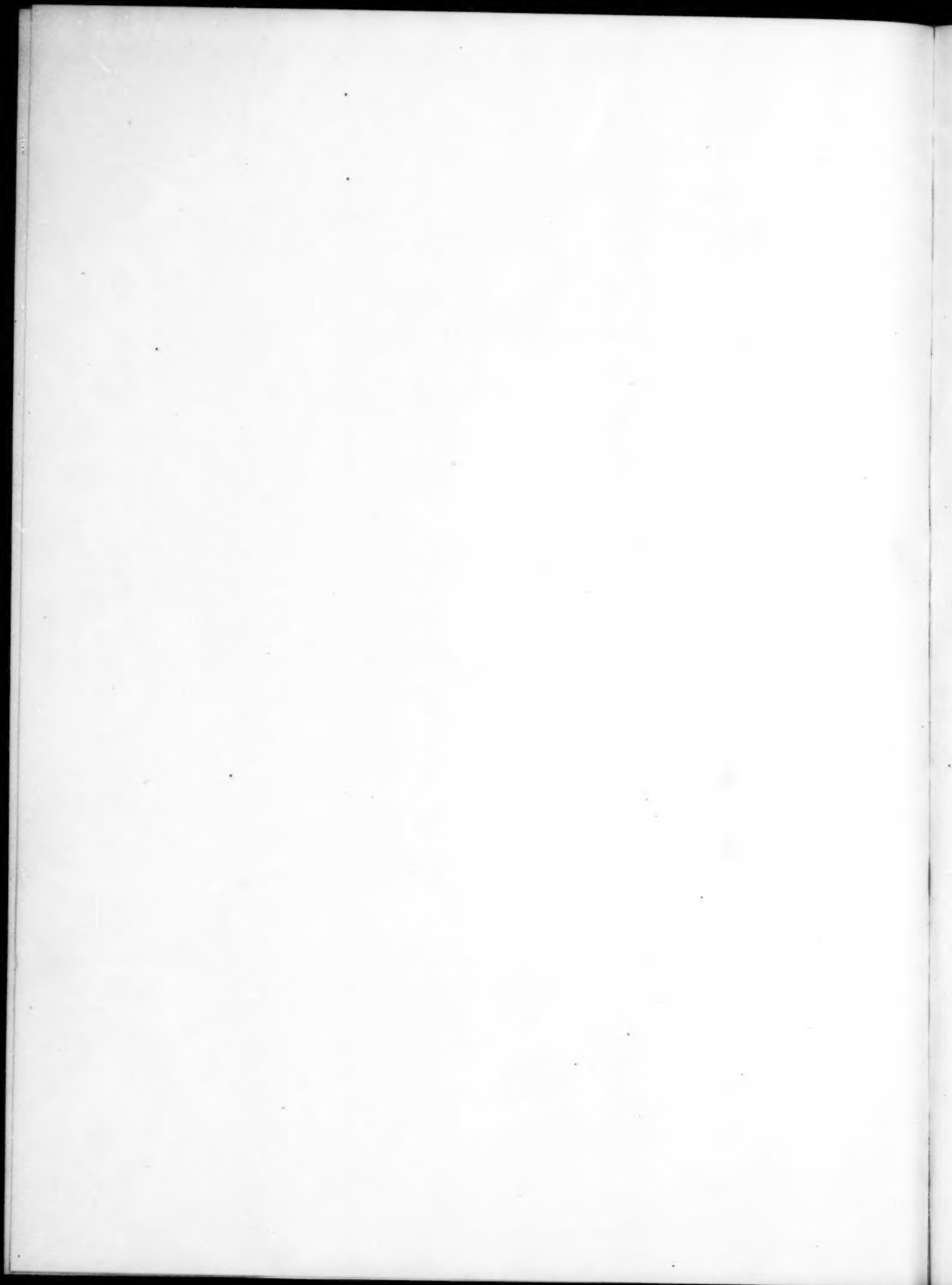
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The Historical Outlook

A JOURNAL FOR

READERS, STUDENTS AND TEACHERS OF HISTORY

Continuing The History Teacher's Magazine

EDITED IN CO-OPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE AND UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF A COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. ALBERT E. MCKINLEY, MANAGING EDITOR

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Relations during the Last Hundred Years between the United States and Canada

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE M. WRONG, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

Just one hundred years ago was made an agreement affecting the United States and Canada so beneficent in character that, extended to Europe, it might have saved us from the horror of the great war. The agreement was the Rush-Bagot Convention under which there were to be no armed ships on the Great Lakes and no bristling fortresses on the land frontier. Since then Canada has grown, so that, like the United States, it extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Here, then, is the first important thing in the relations between the two countries. On a line three thousand miles long they confront each other unarmed. This makes all the difference in the world in the temper of the two peoples. They don't want to fight; they are not prepared to fight; and, in spite of sharp differences, they have not fought during the century which has intervened since the agreement was made.

This is not the place for a detailed history of events during this period. Only a few points can be discussed. The war of 1812, "the second war of independence," as American writers sometimes call it, settled two great questions. Up to that time the attitude of Europe, and especially of Great Britain, to the young republic had been rather patronizing. Probably this was nothing more than that air of condescension on the part of an old state to a new one, which is still often amusingly in evidence when Europe speaks of America. At any rate, the war of 1812 settled the final status of the Republic, and it was not long before, by the Monroe Doctrine, it was saying the decisive word in a great controversy which divided Europe. But another matter, too, was settled by the war of 1812. Powerful influences in the United States had long cherished the hope to make the Union continental in character and to drive the British from North America. Washington himself had desired keenly to take Quebec, and with it all of Canada. In 1812 the same hope was still strong. Those about President Madison urged that, with Britain deeply engaged in Europe against Napoleon, the time had come to include Canada in the Union. Nature seemed to dictate such a policy, and one strong blow might effect it. The policy did not succeed. The war of 1812, which gave finally to the United States a stature equal to that of any Euro-

pean nation, settled also that the Republic should not be continental in character. From that time it was clear that there would be two English-speaking peoples in the western world.

Political problems are, in the eye of discerning wisdom, often settled long before this is appreciated by the many who are not discerning. Why, asked flamboyant patriotism in the United States, should Canada remain an outpost of Britain in North America? Why should a monarchy which had been buffeted into submission by a young Republic stretch its arm still across the sea, and, as many thought, paralyze the life of a free land? Quite deservedly George III and his ministers were hated by those whom they had tried to bring under an odious tyranny, and long after that king had returned to dust the hatred of kingly rule endured in the United States. It still endures. To millions the name of king is an offence, and many Americans were long restless at the thought that they were neighbors to a monarchy. It does not matter that the name king has many meanings, and that in Britain it now signifies only official headship of the state and no power to rule. Canada, tied to Britain, seemed to thorough-going Americanism to be under a tyranny. Unwise things were said in and out of Congress as to the need of hauling down the British flag in Canada. The war of 1812 had settled that it should not come down, but this was seen by only a wisdom deeper than that of the crowd.

In Canada this type of opinion in the United States produced a natural and inevitable reaction. Loyalties are based less upon reason than upon emotion. What the citizen of the United States felt for his own nation the Canadian felt for his own country and the British flag. Even though at that time Canada was more than half French (now the French are less than one-quarter of its people) all Canadians were united on at least one thing—they were not going to change their political status except as they themselves should choose. They had come to know that monarchy did not for them spell tyranny, and that their fate was in their own hands. They treasured their traditions. Many Canadians were descended from ancestors driven out as Loyalists at the time of the American Revolution. These were espe-

cially angered by utterances in the United States pointing to the "inevitable" absorption of Canada. They were not soothed by deprecatory explanations that this would happen only by the free co-operation of the Canadians themselves. They did not regard it as an open question. The Canadian politician learned to play upon these emotions. For a hundred years it has happened in Canada that the party which should lay itself open to the taunt of desiring political union with the United States has gone to inevitable defeat. In the very last election in Canada before the war (that of 1911) this was the decisive issue. The Liberal party supported reciprocity in trade. The Conservative party said that this meant political union with the United States, and the Conservative party gained overwhelming victory. An issue really settled in 1812 can still arouse in the crowd passions that reason has not served to still.

Mirabeau once said that a too scrupulous morality in small things is the enemy of the morality which does great things. Probably he was wrong. But, in politics, the reverse is true, that great and impracticable ideals have often stood in the way of doing the little things which really count. It was a great ideal that all America north of Mexico should become a single powerful state, with free institutions, and arms open for the down-trodden of all the earth. The ideal took too little account of lesser but vital things. Even the downcast and the oppressed have a way of copying the methods of their former masters, and of supporting anarchic tyranny by treachery and murder. We know that brutalized discontent is not the friend, but the enemy of liberty, and that there must be limits to the policy of the open door to immigrants. The ideal is chastened by reality. So is it in connection with the Union of North America. It may be doubted whether so vast a region could be governed effectively from a single centre. The ideal of continental unity was flying too high to nest on the solid earth. Human nature stands in the way of elaborate abstract planning. Ideally it might seem wise that small Delaware should be joined to great Pennsylvania, or small New Jersey to great New York. It would save much expense in government, much diversity, often annoying, in laws. But unions so ideal are not brought about. Delaware and New Jersey have their own traditions, and will not sacrifice them to theory or even to material advantage. Canada will not break with Britain, and she will not join the United States, though on grounds of abstract idealism something might be said for one or other of these courses.

If this is accepted as final, the experience of the last hundred years is full of teaching as to the way to promote good relations. The recognition that Canada shall remain an independent state in North America removes one chief cause of irritation. A second cause of trouble has been that of boundaries. All of them, however, are now settled. The boundary of Maine—which makes a gigantic salient in the frontier of the Canadian province of New Brunswick

—was settled by peaceful agreement in 1842. The frontier in the west, stretching from the Great Lakes to the Pacific, was also settled by agreement in 1846, but only after it had been a chief issue in a Presidential campaign in the United States. Politicians then started the war cry, "Fifty-four forty or fight." Fifty-four forty is the degree of latitude which marks the southern boundary of Alaska, then a Russian possession, and the cry meant that the British were to be excluded from, at any rate, the main land of the Pacific Coast. Wise counsels prevailed over bellicose clamor, and the forty-ninth degree of latitude became and remains the frontier. Later, when the United States acquired Alaska, disputes arose as to the northern frontier of Canada. Again by wise agreement the dispute was settled in 1903. No problem of frontiers remains.

Two causes of difference have thus been removed. A third is more enduring—the problem of trade relations. The United States has a high tariff. Canada has a lower but still a high one. The United States has, perhaps, one hundred and fifteen million people, Canada has less than eight million. The industries of the United States are established, vast, opulent, with a great and secure home market, held safe by the tariff from competition with the cheap labor of Europe. What is small Canada to do side by side with such a mighty neighbor? Should she have free trade, take her manufactures from the United States, and busy herself chiefly with producing raw materials, with mining and agriculture? Free trade might make impossible the creation of industries in Canada to compete with the matured industries of the United States. Some, indeed, argue that industries would grow up in Canada where natural advantages invited them, just as they have grown up in the United States, North, South, East and West. Not so, however. In spite of possible advantages of position the American manufacturer prefers on the whole not to operate in Canada under alien laws and an alien flag if, in other ways, he can secure the Canadian market. Under free trade, he would have, for a factory in Pennsylvania, a market in Canada as profitable as if his factory were in Canada. The Canadian manufacturer could not even compete with him on equal terms. With a small market the Canadian manufacturer would, under free trade, have difficulty in getting a start as against highly organized, wealthy and resourceful rivals in the United States. There is a school of thought in Canada which deprecated any attempt to create industries not so naturally the product of Canada that they will not thrive under conditions of free trade. Another body of opinion points to the weakness of a civilization which is not in large measure self-sufficing, which does not make what it uses, and is content to furnish material to be made up by others. It is the old dispute between Free Trade and Protection. It has haunted the politics of Canada for half a century, and it has profoundly affected the relations of Canada with the United States.

Until 1849 the Navigation Acts which annoyed New England before the Revolution were still in force in respect to Canada. In spite of these laws, New England with, as Goldwin Smith said, "sage diplomacy fortified by prayer and fasting," had managed, of old, before the Revolution, to trade much as it liked, though the Acts refused to foreign ships the right to trade to colonial ports and also forbade direct colonial trade with foreign countries. Whether irksome or not to Canada the Acts were repealed soon after Britain adopted Free Trade in 1846. After that Canada was free in respect to its trade, free even to adopt a tariff against Great Britain. This it soon did. Before this its trade had been badly dislocated by the change in Britain to Free Trade, and the repeal of a preference on grain in favor of Canada. As some relief Canada sought freer trade with the United States, and in 1854 a Treaty was made under which there was reciprocal free trade in natural products. Under it Canada prospered. Then came the American Civil War. The official attitude of Britain seemed to the North hostile. Public opinion grew angry with everything British, and Canada suffered. In 1865 the United States ended the reciprocity in trade. Not only so. In the American Congress angry things were said about the need to end the tie between Canada and Great Britain. A bill was introduced providing for the recognition of the Canadian provinces as states. This stirred Canada and a deep unfriendliness once more became marked.

The British provinces, moved largely by fear of the United States, came together in 1867 to form a great federal state, and the word Canada soon signified the whole of British North America, Newfoundland excepted, a vast area stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. For nearly a quarter of a century after the ending in 1865 of the treaty of reciprocity, Canada made repeated efforts to renew it, and always in vain. In 1878 Canada adopted and still retains the policy of a protective tariff for manufactures. Behind a tariff wall great industries have developed in Canada. Though the growth has been slow a large capital is now invested in them, and this capital is very nervous at any prospect of freer trade with the United States which would remove the tariff defences of the Canadian market. Thus it happens that in every election in Canada we find in evidence the bogey of the scheming Yankee endeavoring to get control of Canadian trade, and to destroy Canadian industry. Powerful interests in Canada have fostered antagonism to and suspicion of the United States. Canada has built three transcontinental lines of railway, stretching east and west and paralleling the American frontier at a greater or less depth. The railway interests in Canada have not been friendly to the freer trade with the United States which would permit traffic to go by American lines. Banking interests have feared the financial control of Canada by the money power of New York. These

powerful elements have all combined to keep up trade barriers and a certain measure of political antagonism. Any word uttered by persons of influence in the United States, looking to closer relations, has been seized upon in Canada as showing designs to alter her political status.

The word of wisdom in regard to future relations between the two countries is that every tendency should be encouraged which makes for mutual respect and confidence. Canada is a free land—as free as the United States. The British Empire is not really an Empire; it is a union of free states for their own security. There is not free trade among them; Canada has a high tariff against products of Great Britain. The Canadian people rule themselves as completely as do the people of Great Britain. But they give their devotion to the same traditions and institutions, and these are symbolized in loyalty to the British monarchy. As a person, the king means very little to Canada, for he has no part at all in its life; the monarchy, however, means much, for it expresses the unbroken traditions and the ultimate unity of the British peoples. It means to them what liberty means to the people of the United States. The Great War has brought about the expression of this free union of the British peoples in the creation of an Imperial War Council, expressing the unity of the British Empire. Here the first place is given as of right to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the parent state. But next to him, taking precedence of all others, is the Prime Minister of Canada, and after there come in order the Prime Ministers of Australia and South Africa. There sit, too, representatives of India. It has been called a cabinet of governments, and these governments make up the British Empire. This is what has come in place of the old mastery by Great Britain desired by George III. The American people need have no unrest about the monarchy on their borders. It is a democracy as free as their own. When the masses understand this, when they understand that there is unity of outlook between the two peoples, they will pay little heed to wild talk of fanatical people in either country. Trade questions must be settled on the basis both of mutual good-will and interest. Canada is dependent on the United States for many things which it pays the United States to supply. Sometimes Canada has suffered for this dependence by having supplies cut off when most needed. This has happened in, for instance, the steel trade. Each side requires magnanimity and that long view of interests which remembers to-morrow and does not press too hard the advantage of to-day. Co-operation in the war has brought home this lesson vividly, and the present trade policy of the United States towards Canada is generous and magnanimous.

This tie, newly forged, of united effort in a great cause can never be broken. It is a tie consecrated by common sacrifice. There are more than fifty thousand Canadian dead, silent, sorrowful, but also ennobling evidence of Canada's devotion to the cause

of liberty. If the war endures many more than this in the vast armies of the United States will die on the field of battle. Experience has already shown that the Canadians and the Americans are alike in having the best qualities of the soldier. They are strong in physique, because the fruitful new world has ever given them all the nourishment that the body

needs. They are strong in soul because they have been free to live their own lives and plan their own destiny. They will always, in the years to come, be strong in their respect for each other. In the day of trial they did not fail and no future cause of disunion can be as great as that union which has made them one in sacrifice.

The Economic History of American Agriculture as a Field for Study

BY PROFESSOR LOUIS BERNARD SCHMIDT, IOWA STATE COLLEGE.

History, like all other studies, has repeatedly undergone significant changes in point of view and in methods of interpretation. Formerly, it was regarded as a narrative of past events, and its chief purpose was to interest and amuse the reader, rather than to contribute to a well considered body of scientific knowledge. This conception of history, however, has been greatly changed during the past fifty years by the introduction of the scientific method in historical investigation. The main objective of this method is the critical study of the past life of humanity, not only for its own sake, but also for the sake of enabling us to understand better the present life of the times of which we ourselves are a part. It has led students to search beneath the surface of passing events and to study the institutional life of society; in other words, the common everyday life of humanity. It has brought about a reconstruction of the whole field of history with the result that all phases of human progress are being studied and presented in a new light. It conceives of history as a social science whose concern is the scientific study of the past life of human society in its economic, social, religious, political, military, æsthetic, and intellectual phases.

The application of the scientific method to the study of American history has brought out more clearly the significance of the economic forces underlying our national development. It has been only a few years since the histories of the United States treated merely the political, military, and religious phases of American life, while the economic and social were neglected, if not altogether ignored; and this in spite of the fact that the latter have been constantly gaining in importance with our material progress and have formed, further, the real essence of our most crucial political questions. We need only refer to the slavery question with its many complications, or consider the debates on the public lands, internal improvements, the United States bank, the tariff, the currency, immigration, the organization of labor, and the regulation of corporations, to show what an important part economic questions have played in American politics.

To-day, economic and social problems are pressing for solution; and questions of government are becoming

ing to an ever increasing extent, economic rather than political. The scientific spirit is making new demands upon the past. It wants to know a thousand things concerning which annalists in former times were not curious. Whereas historians have hitherto interrogated the past concerning the doings of generals, politicians, and churchmen, they are now coming to search for information concerning such matters as the tenure of public and private land, the migrations of settlers and of crop areas, the rise of trades unions and farmers' organizations, the growth of corporations, the status of the negro, and the advance of education. The rising school of economic historians is responding to the demands of a new age and the history of our country is being re-explored and rewritten in order that we may not only know more about the past, but also that we may better understand the present with its complex economic and social problems; in other words, that we may better interpret our own times in the light of economic and social evolution.

Of fundamental significance in the scientific study of American development is the economic history of our agriculture. This phase of our history has not hitherto received the attention at the hands of historians which its importance merits. It is time, therefore, first, to define the economic history of American agriculture as a field for study; second, to review some of the reasons why special attention should be directed to this field; and, third, to suggest some of the more important problems which this field offers for investigation.

The economic history of American agriculture includes much more than a mere account of progress in the technique of agriculture. It is concerned with all the facts, forces, and conditions which have entered into the development of agriculture in the United States, from the founding of Jamestown to the Pan-American Exposition. It deals with the influences affecting the evolution of agriculture and of agricultural society in different sections; the problems engaging the attention of the rural population in various periods; the relation of agriculture to other industries; the contributions of the agricultural population to the professions, to politics, and to legislation; and the influences of our agricultural develop-

ment on our national life. It includes the study of the whole life of the rural population, economic, social, moral, religious, intellectual, and political. Viewed in one way, the history of the United States from the beginning has been in a very large measure the story of rural communities advancing westward by the conquest of the soil, developing from a state of primitive self-sufficiency to a capitalistic and highly complex agricultural organization.

These preliminary considerations show the broad scope of the economic history of American agriculture as a field for study. What then are some of the more important reasons for directing attention to this field?

It almost goes without saying, that agriculture is the fundamental basis of our prosperity. The greater portion of our population has always dwelt in rural communities. According to the census, the rural population in 1790 represented ninety-six and seven-tenths per cent. of the total; in 1880, seventy and five-tenths per cent.; and in 1910, fifty-three and seven-tenths per cent.; thus it still constitutes more than half of the whole population. In 1910, thirty-four and six-tenths per cent. of the population was engaged directly in the cultivation of the soil: a greater proportion than is engaged in any other occupation. The value of farm property as compared with that of manufacturing, transportation, forestry, and mining industries also emphasizes the great prominence of agriculture; and finally, the study of cycles in business prosperity indicates that our general well-being has always been dependent on this industry.

As has already been suggested, a study of the economic history of American agriculture is indispensable to a correct understanding of much of our political and diplomatic history. A consideration of the effect of cotton and slavery on the whole history of party politics from the adoption of the constitution down to the civil war, or of the rapid growth of the wheat industry in its relation to the organization of a farmers' party and the effect of this party movement on national legislation, as evidenced, for instance, by the interstate commerce act of 1887 and the Sherman anti-trust act of 1890, will give anyone an appreciation of the fact that in order to understand our political history, no little attention must be given to the economic history of agriculture. A consideration of the influence of the agricultural industry on our foreign relations and the making of commercial and other treaties will further emphasize this same fact. It was the demand of the southwestern farmers for the free and unrestricted navigation of the Mississippi which led directly to the purchase of Louisiana from Napoleon. It was the interference with American shipping and the seizure of American food products which led to the war of 1812. It has been generally conceded that England's need of cotton was chiefly responsible for that country's sympathetic attitude toward the south during the civil war; it is equally significant that her imperative need of northern wheat operated effectively to keep England officially neu-

tral. These illustrations are sufficient to suggest the importance of our agrarian history in the study of American diplomacy; our nation's historians have been too much inclined to take a provincial view of the national past: the "shortview," as the late Rear-Admiral Mahan has expressed it. It is time to abandon this attitude, and to take the larger or the "long-view" of the forces which have shaped our destinies.

Our agricultural history offers an excellent opportunity for the study of the lives and services of eminent men who have profoundly affected American economic development. Consider the influence of Eli Whitney on the history of the cotton industry, or that of Cyrus Hall McCormick on the history of cereal production. It is not too much to say that the triumph of the north over the south in 1865 was the triumph of the reaper over the cotton gin, and that McCormick and Whitney deserve as great a place in American history as U. S. Grant and Robert E. Lee. Or consider the influence of Franklin, Washington, and Jefferson on the early formation of agricultural societies; of Thomas H. Benton and Galusha A. Grow on the movement for free homesteads for actual settlers; of Senator Morrill on the establishment of colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts; of O. H. Kelly on the granger movement; of General James B. Weaver on the organization of a farmers' party; and of P. G. Holden, "the corn wizard," on the development of rural extension work and the popularization of better farming methods. These names will suggest at once a host of other Americans who have contributed to the development of the farming industry; our agrarian history is rich in the personal element.

It further furnishes a background for the study of agricultural economics. It is recognized that economic science bears about the same relation to economic history that political science bears to political history. The value of political history to the political scientist is so obvious as to require no defense. It is equally evident that agricultural economics, a science which is of recent origin, must have a historical foundation and background. The agricultural economist needs to be familiar with the economic life of man in the past in order to realize and appreciate the organic nature of society. He should be historically minded if he would deal most efficiently with the problems of the present. With the introduction of the science of agricultural economics into the land grant colleges and universities of the country, therefore, comes a new motive for productive work in the field of agricultural history.

The history of American agriculture, then, is essential to the development of a sound and far-sighted rural economy. The great problems of rural communities are human rather than merely materialistic. That is to say, they are economic, social, and educational, and cannot be understood except in the light of their historical evolution. Government action involving agricultural interests should be based on a broad knowledge of rural economic history. Questions of land tenure, tenancy, size of farms, markets (including the complex problems of distribution and

exchange), capitalistic agriculture, the rise of land values, rural credits, farmers' organizations with their economic, social, intellectual, and political functions, the rural school, the rural church, and good roads; these are only a few of the vital problems which should be considered from a historical and comparative as well as from a purely technical point of view. Rural problems will henceforth demand a superior type of statesmanship, for we are to-day rapidly passing through a great transition period of our history. We have emerged from the period of colonization, of exploitation, of extensive development, and have entered the period of intensive development. There is a greater need than ever for calling upon the wisdom and experience of the past in the working out of a sound and far-sighted rural economy. We are in need of a scientific treatment of the economic history of agriculture in this country to help supply this need.

The subject, thus outlined, presents an inviting field for study and investigation. Although it has been neglected, not to say almost entirely ignored, by our nation's historians, it is encouraging to note an awakening interest in this direction. Some of the leading institutions of the country, particularly Harvard, Wisconsin, and Columbia, are directing research work in this field, and a few of these institutions have begun to offer courses on the subject. At the Iowa State College, for example, such a course is offered, and it is required in the various departments of the division of agriculture, in addition to the course in agricultural economics. Mention should also be made of the work now being undertaken by the department of economics and sociology of the Carnegie Institution at Washington, under whose auspices a number of published and unpublished monographs in the economic history of American agriculture have already been prepared. Under its direction, the materials are being collected for a comprehensive history of American agriculture which will serve as an encyclopedia on the subject. These contributions, however, represent merely the pioneer undertakings, which will need to be supplemented by numerous studies if the economic history of American agriculture is to be properly emphasized and recorded. The limits of this paper will permit only a brief consideration of some of the more important problems which await the labors of the historian.

Among these subjects, that of the public lands commands primary consideration. The entire land area of continental United States amounts to 1,903,289,600 acres. Of this area, forty-six and two-tenths per cent., or 878,798,325 acres, have been carved out into farms. The remainder consists of forests and mineral holdings and reserves, land occupied by towns and cities, railroad rights of way, public highways, mountainous country, and arid and swamp lands. There remain unreserved and unappropriated only 290,000,000 acres, the great portion of which will never be available for agricultural purposes.

The transference of the originally vast heritage from public to private ownership is of fundamental

significance; its history should include a consideration of early French, Spanish, and English land grants to individuals and to colonial corporations, of colonial systems of land disposal, and of the various methods by which the national and state governments have disposed of public lands to the settler, to the "land grabber," and to the speculator. A review of the federal land policy presents the story of a long and bitter contest between the east and the west, culminating in the triumph of the latter in the enactment of the pre-emption law of 1841, and the homestead act of 1862. This struggle was involved with other public questions: the protective tariff, New England's primary concern; and slavery, the major interest of the south. The ascendancy of the slavery issue after the Mexican war brought the east to the support of the west in opposition to slavery extension, and in the demand for free homesteads which was inserted in the Republican platform of 1860. Representative Lovejoy of Illinois is authority for the statement that without this plank Lincoln could not have been elected. With the secession of the southern states, the enactment of the homestead law was assured. But Congress and the land office, in devising the liberal land policy, did not guard the rights of the actual settler against land pirates. Ruthless spoliation was practiced until all the best lands were gone. Recent tendencies in land legislation indicate an intention on the part of the government to revert to the original purpose of the law of 1862, and to assign free homesteads only to actual settlers.

The rapid disposal of the swamp land grants, the internal improvement and railway grants, the section grants for common schools, and the land grants for colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts under the Morrill act of 1862, as well as the location and final disposition of these lands, suggest important studies to be made in public land history. The history of the forest lands (including forest reserves and national parks), and of the mineral and the saline lands also is waiting to be written. Finally, the disposition of lands under the timber culture act, the desert land act, the timber and stone act, the Carey act, the reclamation act, and the Kinkaid act, may be mentioned as profitable subjects for investigation.

Fifty years ago there was little or no occasion for careful consideration of the land question. Land was to be had for nothing, and there was plenty of it. Congress was not much concerned as to how rapidly or how unwisely the vast national heritage was spent. The speculative spirit seems to have become ingrained as one of the chief American characteristics; it has contributed to an inflation of land values, and to the present high rate of tenancy. The land question has therefore entered upon a new and complex phase. In undertaking an equitable solution of this problem, the history of the land under both public and private ownership should be investigated. In essaying this task, it should be kept in mind that the disappearance of the public lands is closely linked with the rapid increase of population, the change from extensive to intensive farming, and the increased cost of living.

The history of specific leading industries also remains to be written. As examples of what may be done in this direction we may indicate Hammond's "Cotton Industry" and Thompson's "Rise and Decline of the Wheat Growing Industry in Wisconsin." Similar studies should be undertaken for cereal and live stock production, the latter including dairying and meat packing. The tobacco, poultry, and beet sugar industries should also be mentioned as profitable fields for research. The history of the range should be a particularly interesting subject for investigation. Such a study should give special attention to influences affecting the rise and growth of the industry, such as soil and climate, early trade and commerce, labor, tenancy, the use of improved machinery, markets, prices, transportation, and the tariff; and the relation of the industry to industries such as transportation, manufactures, mining, and lumbering should be considered. The westward movement of the centre of production should be studied in its relation to the westward movement of population and the accessibility of markets. The influence of agricultural prices on production, and the influence of grain markets on national politics and finance should receive careful study. Mr. Turner has called attention to the importance of the study of the wheat industry, in the following terms:

"If, for example, we study the maps showing the transition of the wheat belt from the East to the West, as the virgin soils were conquered and made new bases for destructive competition with the older wheat states, we shall see how deeply they affected not only land values, railroad building, the movement of population and the supply of cheap food, but also how the regions once devoted to single cropping of wheat were forced to turn to varied and intensive agriculture and to diversified industry, and we shall see also how these transformations affected party politics and even the ideals of the Americans of the regions thus changed."¹

The economic history of agriculture in particular states or in given regions should also be written. Such studies should include the consideration of agricultural geography, Indian agriculture, early trade and travel, relations of the white race with the Indian, pioneer population and agriculture, nearness to the markets, transportation of agricultural products, development of specialized and diversified farming, systems of land tenure, agricultural labor, use of improved farm machinery, size of farms, price of lands, and rentals, and laws governing inheritance of real estate in lands. These studies would naturally include also the consideration of the sources of immigration, the type of farmers, the methods of agriculture, and the social phases of life, including religion, education, amusements, and entertainments. Attention should be given to currency and banking facilities, rural credit, rates of interest, and the rela-

tion of the farming population to national monetary legislation and to the tariff. The subject of agricultural education should receive extended treatment; a study of state agricultural societies and fairs, the agricultural press, and the agricultural colleges and experiment stations, including rural extension departments and recently introduced courses in agriculture in the high schools. Finally, the economic history of agriculture of any state should present an historical and comparative analysis of the problems confronting the farming class. Mr. E. V. Robinson's "Economic History of Agriculture in Minnesota," just published, suggests the possibilities and the value of this type of study. Similar studies might indeed profitably be made of larger areas, as for example, a given region like the middle west.

The history of farmers' organizations should be given considerable attention in view of the recent active interest which is being awakened in the various forms of farmers' co-operative unions and enterprises. Studies of this kind may be divided into two groups: first, those dealing with organizations which seek to combine the farmers as a class, as illustrated by the grange; and, secondly, those treating of organizations which serve some special end or industry, as for example, the co-operative creameries, and farmers' elevators. For such a study it would be necessary to investigate the origin, purpose, growth, difficulties, successes, and failures of the various organizations. European ideals and methods introduced by the immigrant farmer should be studied. The influence of the organization on state and national politics and legislation should be given due weight. The recent appearance of Mr. S. J. Buck's monograph on "The Granger Movement" marks a distinctive contribution to the history of farmers' organizations. Studies of this kind will contribute very materially to a proper understanding of the farmers' co-operative movement in this country, and will point the way to more successful and fruitful efforts along that line in the future.

Still other problems awaiting the labors of the historian are readily suggested; mention may be made of the history of farm machinery, foreign immigration and its influence on the development of agriculture, agricultural labor, transportation of agricultural products, markets and prices, the relation of agriculture to financial legislation, taxation and the tariff, and agricultural education. The relation of agriculture to other given industries, the relation of the state to agriculture, and the work of the department of agriculture may also be suggested.

After all is said, however, the fundamental reason why the economic history of American agriculture should be studied is that we may ultimately have a well-balanced history of our nation. For it must be remembered, as I have already tried to show, that our agrarian history is to be viewed not in the strict or narrow sense, but in the broad sense so as to include the whole life of the rural population, the influences which have affected its progress, and the influence its

¹ F. J. Turner, "Social Forces in American History," in the *American Historical Review*, 16: 229, 230.

progress has in turn had on the course of events. Thus defined, the economic history of American agriculture is a constituent part of the history of the entire people, closely interwoven with other phases of our national progress; and to define it is to emphasize a new point of view in the study of American develop-

ment. "The marking out of such a field is only a fresh example of the division of scientific labor: it is the provisional isolation, for the better investigation of them, of a particular group of facts and forces," in order that a true history of our national progress and development may finally be written.²

The Armenian Problem

BY PROFESSOR JESSE E. WRENCH, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI.

Amid all the barbarity and devastation of the past four years, the scientific application of force to the solution of the perplexing problems of nationality has never been carried out more thoroughly than in the case of the Armenians. Not even the massacre of the Huguenots shows so complete and so terrible an example of "man's inhumanity to man." The annals of savagery can hardly show a parallel to the absolute fiendishness which possessed the Turkish government and its irresponsible minions in their dealings with their almost defenseless subjects and fellow citizens. The righteous wrath of a humane and Christian world demands that such barbarity shall be justly punished, and that the sufferers from such horrors, in so far as they are still alive, shall receive some reparation. When, at the close of the present conflict, the powers are gathered in council to readjust the world's affairs in terms of democracy and the recognition of the small nationalities, the claims of Armenia can scarcely be dismissed with the cynical negligence which in 1878 characterized the proceedings of the Congress of Berlin with respect to them. To obviate any such possibility it will be necessary that the claims of the Armenians be more generally understood, especially in the United States.

Unlike the Poles, the Czechs or the Jugo-Slavs, the Armenians can nowhere point to a territory inhabited exclusively by Armenians. Nor is Armenia a distinct geographical division. The name is rather loosely applied to the territory comprised in the upper basins of the Euphrates, Tigris, Aras and Churuk Su Rivers, divided politically within Turkey, Russia and Persia. It is a rough, elevated plateau traversed by several mountain ridges culminating in the famous peak of Ararat, 17,000 feet above sea level. It looks down on the plain of Mesopotamia, access to which is restricted to one rough but low pass near the southwestern angle of Lake Van. This proximity to Mesopotamia and to the northeastern angle of the Mediterranean has had much to do with the attitude of the powers, particularly England and Russia, toward the Armenian problem. Russia's dream of access to the warmer seas and England's solicitude for her road to India were involved, even though Armenia is no highway from north to south, and England has long held Egypt and Cyprus, giving her access by water to her eastern empire.

To the northwest lies the Euxine and to the southeast the Plateau of Iran. Across Armenia's rugged mountains ran one of the important land routes to

Iran and Inner Asia. To the north and northeast lies Transcaucasia, which, within its limited bounds, includes peoples of many races in different stages of civilization, speaking at least fifty different languages. Through this territory, skirting the northern edge of Armenia, runs the Batum-Baku Railway, following approximately the older caravan route connecting the Black and Caspian Seas. By means of steamers on the Caspian it furnishes modern means of access to Iran, and in conjunction with the Trans-Caspian Railway to Inner Asia. The events of the last three years have given a new significance to this territory and to its connection with the Armenian problem. When Armenia is made accessible by modern transportation it will be most easily connected with the Transcaucasian railway system which has already penetrated as far as the foot of Ararat.

In spite of its rugged nature and the difficulties of the highways, Armenia has been fairly easy of access from east, west and north, and its position, astride the Iran road and at the actual gateway between east and west, has furnished it with a varied population. The native Armenian population has been to a large extent replaced by other elements, particularly the Kurds. The Armenians were most thickly settled, before the war, in the Turkish vilayets of Van, Erzerum, Bitlis, Harput, Diarbekir and Sivas, and in northwestern Persia. They are still numerous in the Russian provinces of Erivan, Elizavetpol and Tiflis. Before the present war their numbers totalled perhaps 2,700,000, hardly one-third of the total population of the area. There were a few other Christians in this territory, mainly in the Russian part, but the predominant part of the population was Muslim. Of these latter the Kurds outnumber the others three to one.

These Kurds, who have been from time immemorial the neighbors of the Armenians, are a nomadic people in a state of feudal organization, the Armenians occupying the position of the medieval serf, with all that that implies. Until 1847 the Kurds held unhindered sway throughout Armenia; and since that time the Turkish government has never felt it necessary to interfere in their customary treatment of their dependent neighbors. Taxed only when they have

²This paper was presented before the American History Section of the American Historical Association, Washington, D. C., December 28, 1915. Reprinted from *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, III, pp. 39-49.

crossed rivers in the annual movement of their flocks and herds, and enrolled since 1892 in an irregular cavalry which was never disciplined, their sole contribution to the government which nominally controlled them has been their aid in the destruction of the economic foundation of that part of the empire. Until they are coerced with a strong hand, they will never be respectable members of civilized society.

Beyond these limits the Armenians are to be found in the Taurus mountains, in most of the cities of Asiatic Turkey and in Constantinople, while about 250,000 are scattered throughout Europe, the East Indies and the United States.

The Armenians have inhabited these mountain regions since written history began, and still cling to some of the characteristics and customs which the classical travelers saw. Situated on the boundary of the Babylonian, Roman, Byzantine, and, more recently, the Turkish and Russian Empires, they have borne the brunt of invasions and have had to suffer in direct proportion to the political and territorial aspirations of their neighbors. They existed as an independent power during the last three centuries before Christ and a short time in the Middle Ages. For the remainder of the past they have either been subject to these larger states as vassals or a component part of them. They were first conquered by the Arabs in 636, and since 1071 have been under Muslim rule, until Russia rescued a part of them in 1829.

In the fourth century they were converted to Christianity by St. Gregory the Illuminator, but they soon separated from the other Christians and became the first national church. This church has retained more of the customs of the Christians than either the Greek or the Roman churches, and has been through the centuries the rallying place of the Armenians. To-day the Armenian Catholicos, as its head is called, from his seat in Echmiadzin in Transcaucasia, guides the destinies of his people, and, thanks to the impulse given by the American missionaries during the last century, directs their steps toward a spiritual and national rebirth.

The great mass of the Armenians are agriculturists, but conditions have been such that a certain proportion of the younger generation have always been forced out and compelled to seek employment in other lines. They have gone to the cities, to Constantinople more than anywhere else in modern times, and entered all fields of industrial and financial endeavor. As traders and merchants they have a special gift. A popular Levantine proverb says, "It takes three Jews to beat a Greek and three Greeks to beat an Armenian." It is a generally accepted fact that the massacres of 1895 and 1896, which were stimulated, like the pogroms of Russia, by the hatred of the poorer classes for their richer neighbors, well-nigh destroyed the business fabric of the interior of Asiatic Turkey. There seems to be no question that one of the strong reasons for German apathy to, or actual connivance in, the massacres of 1915 and 1916, was due to the possibility of further commercial op-

portunity presented by the elimination of a formidable set of rivals. In the field of politics and administration, the Armenians have proved themselves able and resourceful. When the doors of opportunity were closed at home, Armenians found their way to the imperial throne at Constantinople, and in modern times have served both Turks and Russians ably in all capacities, from the humblest clerkship to the Cabinet itself. More than one prominent Russian general has had Armenian blood in his veins. Those who know them best have often remarked their exceptional ability as intermediaries between Orient and Occident. Endowed from birth with an insight into the Oriental point of view, they have been able equally to acquire an Occidental understanding. In the future perhaps this can be put to advantage in bringing about a real understanding between the West and the Nearer East.

Centuries of oppression and persecution by a race alien both in race and in religion have left their mark upon the Armenian as upon the Jew. He cringes, is avaricious, clannish and distrustful. He is ignorant and simple; but given an opportunity he is alert and quick to learn. His religious constancy is marvelous, as the massacres have shown. His social consciousness, though centered in the family, extends to the nation, and even to an alien state. In 1908 the Armenians assisted and enthusiastically supported the Young Turks in their revolution and reorganization of Turkey, until it was proved beyond a doubt that there was no hope there. Only when the policy of extermination was definitely expressed did they turn their hands against the state to which they could no longer owe a just allegiance.

The Armenian problem of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was centered in the treatment of the Armenians by the Turks. Coming under the control of the Ottomans in the sixteenth century, their history was that of other subject nationalities until the occupation of the Caucasus by Russia in 1829 and the conquest of the Kurdish Beys by the Turkish government in 1837. The former act gave Christian rule to some, the latter brought the remainder under the direct control of the Sultan. The attention of Europe was not gained nor was the Armenian problem really given emphasis until the Congress of Berlin when the powers were content to oust the Russians and leave the Armenians to the tender mercies of the Sultan under the veil of promised reforms which never materialized.

Thanks to the jealousies of the powers, the policy of persecution and oppression which the Turkish government followed during the nineteenth century culminated in the massacres of 1895 and 1896. These were aimed at the rising national feelings of the Armenians, and were for the time successful. The mass of the nation which remained had no heart nor inclination for an independent existence or felt it to be a hopeless chimaera. They were ready to welcome wholeheartedly the new regime of 1908. The Armenian nationalistic element which still maintained the hope of revolution, likewise threw in its lot with

the Young Turks, and loyally assisted in the establishment of the new government. In spite of the outbreak of 1909 in which thousands of their brethren perished they continued to serve as officials and soldiers until most of them were gathered up in squads and executed. Persecution on a small scale continued after 1909, and it is a melancholy fact that, almost on the instant of the outbreak of the European War, the reforms which had been promised by the Congress of Berlin were at last installed, only to be withdrawn when Turkey entered the conflict. The war furnished the opportunity for the realization of the sinister policy of Ottomanization along the lines that had suggested themselves to the more fanatical elements of the Young Turks. It was nothing less than extermination. The story of it is too long to tell here, but its very success has completely changed the Armenian problem. At least one-half of the Armenians in Turkey, outside of Constantinople and Smyrna, were eliminated in 1915 and 1916, and the larger part of the remainder was in concentration camps in Northern Syria and Mesopotamia, where by the end of the war the climate and impossible conditions of life will have killed thousands.

Those who are left of the Armenians in Asia are to be found in Russian Armenia. The Russian Revolution of 1917 and 1918 has ended Russian control of the Caucasus, and since the treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed the Armenians and the Caucasian peoples have been fighting the Turks to maintain

their independence. The new situation created by the massacres and the Russian Revolution has created a new Armenian problem which is bound up geographically and politically with the Caucasus, Persia and Inner Asia. Russia never took very seriously her task of civilizing the Caucasus, and most of its inhabitants are in about the same stage of development as the Kurds. Like the Kurds they still need a strong hand. Armenia's future is closely connected with that of these peoples of Transcaucasia, particularly the Georgians and Tartars, both because of proximity and because it is the natural outlet for Armenian products. The Armenians have had great opportunities under the Russian government, in spite of certain attempts at "Russification," and have occupied most of the official posts of Transcaucasia. It was the Armenian mayor of Tiflis who took charge of affairs when the news came of the overthrow of the Tsar. Their adaptability and experience will make them important in the future establishment of order in that region. The difficulties of dealing with this territory after the war are still further complicated by the presence of the Baku oil fields and the importance of the Batum-Baku Railway. Even if the approaching downfall of Turkey sets a limit to the development of Pan Turanism, the presence of so many Muslims in this area and its economic and strategic importance indicate that the Armenian problem may be one of the germs of a new Balkan question transported to the other extremity of the Euxine.

British Colonial Policy

BY DOCTOR ARTHUR P. SCOTT, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

The British Empire is the most impressive political organization the world has ever seen. It is the product of more than three centuries of growth, of evolution, of adaptation to environment. To-day the Union Jack floats over a quarter of the globe, and one-fourth of the human race owe allegiance to the King-Emperor. The diversity of its races, languages, religions, levels of culture, natural environments and resources is paralleled by a variety of governmental relationships. The Empire is made up of the Dominions, with complete local self-government. It includes also the Empire of India and the Crown Colonies, governed largely from England; protectorates in which native governments remain intact, but subject to British advice; territory under chartered trading companies; areas held by lease or other tenure. The Empire proper shades off into "spheres of influence." The term Empire usually connotes conquest and rule over subject populations, and these elements are present. Unlike the Roman Empire, however, the greater part of the area of the British Empire is held by peoples of British stock whose local independence and attachments do not prevent loyalty to the common sovereign.

"The system which has grown up and holds the field to-day, like many other concrete facts and insti-

tutions in English history, is not logical, difficult if not impossible to define, but none the less a good working organization on the basis of compromise rather than of principle."¹

The flexibility, variety and adaptability of British policy is really one of its vital features. This has been not so much intentional as the result of dealing with specific situations as seemed best under the circumstances. Seeley's frequently quoted statement that the British apparently had "conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind,"² has the exaggeration of most epigrams. It ignores the genuine foresight and statesmanship that have gone into the building of the Empire. But it correctly emphasizes the fact that the British did not deliberately set out to conquer the earth. Many of the steps in expansion were taken with genuine reluctance, and only in order to safeguard existing interests.

Viewing colonial development as a whole, at least three great periods stand out: that dominated by mercantilism, lasting until well into the nineteenth cen-

¹ Lucas, in "Oxford Survey of the British Empire," VI, 31.

² "Expansion of England," 8.

tury; the period of laissez-faire and of increasing democratic self-government for the English-speaking colonies; and the recent period, beginning 1870-80, which may be called the era of Greater Britain, or of the Britannic Commonwealth of Nations, according to the emphasis.³

In the early period of expansion the royal government had no clearly defined or consistent policy. The first charters, however, laid down two principles which proved of permanent constitutional significance: those who crossed the seas, and their descendants, remained British subjects, and retained the "rights of Englishmen;" and those to whom the charters were granted could make any necessary laws not "repugnant" to those of England. Although the Stuarts several times planned to organize a centralized colonial system, troubles at home and resistance from the colonists defeated their intentions, and in an atmosphere of "salutary neglect" several generations of Englishmen overseas gained practice in managing their own affairs. The outstanding attempt at control was through the Acts of Trade and Navigation. These began under the Commonwealth in 1651, and embodied the current views on colonial policy.

The combined system of economic theory and practice which England shared with the rest of Western Europe goes by the name of mercantilism. The central idea was to make the national state self-sufficient from the economic point of view both in peace and war. To that end the production of all necessary food, materials and manufactures at home was encouraged, and their purchase from abroad was discouraged. Colonies were sought to supply materials not produced at home, as a market for home manufactures, and as possible sources of gold and silver. These last were regarded as the surest signs of national prosperity. Hence arose the desire for mines, and the objection to imports, particularly luxuries, which would decrease the favorable balance of trade. To secure these ends governments controlled production and imports, confined national trade so far as possible to national shipping, and monopolized the import and export trade of the colonies. In trying to help shipping, to give English merchants the middleman's profit and English manufacturers the monopoly of colonial trade, the government had the interests of the mother country chiefly in mind. Yet there was no intention to oppress; the arrangement was supposed to be of mutual advantage. In fact, by evading the laws when it suited their interests, the colonists got on very well.

The Navigation Laws were directed at first against Holland, and they helped to produce trade wars, in which control of the Far East was also at stake. The epic struggle with France in the eighteenth century was partly concerned with the European balance of

power, but particularly with the commercial, colonial and naval supremacy of the world. The victory of 1763 which left England mistress of the seas and predominant in North America and India was epoch-making in the history of the Empire.

In the New World this victory was soon followed by an internal crisis. War had shown the need of better imperial organization. But when the Ministry attempted to secure greater uniformity and efficiency by enforcing the Navigation Laws, by taxing the colonies for their share of imperial defense, and by strengthening control over governors and judges, the colonists reacted strongly, and ultimately fought for independence. The essential problem was one of division of powers between the central and the local governments. The relation for which the Americans of 1765 contended was substantially that which now prevails between Britain and the Dominions, and its wisdom was recognized by Burke, Pitt, Fox and other leaders of the opposition in England.

Following the precedent of liberal treatment of the Dutch in New Amsterdam, the British government had already granted the French inhabitants of Canada religious freedom and the use of their own language and civil law. This common-sense toleration has come to be one of the great characteristics of British policy. When too late to avert the American Revolution, Parliament had agreed to "forbear" its right to tax the colonists, and this concession was embodied in the Canadian constitutions of 1791. Apart from this, little change in policy was apparent. In fact, the experience with America was thought to show that grants of self-government would lead to independence. Canada was given representative institutions, but for the next half century they were denied to newly-acquired possessions like Australia, Ceylon and Cape Colony. British interest in colonial affairs declined, and the management fell largely into the hands of permanent under-officials "who displayed the most deplorable ignorance of the local requirements and temper of those whose destinies they insisted upon controlling."⁴ The colonists resented this, and came to distrust a government which appeared to be officious and indifferent at the wrong times.

Though it was not clearly recognized at the time, the American Revolution marked the decline of mercantilism. The rising laissez faire economists were undermining its theoretical foundations. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century the Trade and Navigation laws were repealed, and the Corn Laws and other tariffs were abolished. With mercantilism passed one great reason for desiring colonies, and free traders like Cobden and Bright viewed with indifference or even satisfaction the prospect of colonial independence. The chief constructive efforts of the period were those directed towards the systematic colonization of Australia, New Zealand and Cape Colony.⁵

³ H. E. Egerton, "Short History of British Colonial Policy," suggests division into period of beginnings, to 1651; of trade ascendancy, to 1831; systematic colonization and responsible government, to 1861; laissez aller, to 1885; Greater Britain.

⁴ C. H. Currey, "British Colonial Policy," 23.

⁵ Egerton, Book III, ch. 1.

The investigation of the Canadian rebellions of 1837 led to Lord Durham's famous report in which he advocated federation and complete responsible government for Canada. He contended that this would strengthen rather than weaken the ties of Empire, but in granting the Provinces responsible ministries (1847 ff.) the home government hardly shared his optimism. However, the failure of the policy of centralization was by now painfully apparent, and something had to be done. In Australia, also, gradual progress was made, and in 1850 Parliament authorized the colonies there to amend their own constitutions. Other steps in devolution followed. Control of crown lands gradually passed to local legislatures; British troops began to be withdrawn (1862 ff.). The colonies gained control of their own tariffs, to the extent even of taxing British imports.

There is little doubt that these practical applications of the fundamental British principles of self-government saved the Empire. To most contemporary Englishmen, however, they seemed destined to lead to colonial independence. Turgot's well-known saying that colonies were like fruit which when ripe naturally drops from the parent stem represented a widespread feeling. Some felt relief, others regret, others indifference at the prospect. The attitude of the government is reflected in a later statement by Lord Blachford (Under Secretary of State, 1866-71): "I had always believed . . . that the destiny of our Colonies is independence, and that . . . the function of the Colonial Office is to secure that our connection, while it lasts, shall be as profitable to both parties, and our separation, when it comes, as amicable as possible."⁶

While they worked for increasing democracy at home, Gladstone and the Liberals favored increasing self-government for the colonies. They denied, however, any intention of breaking up the Empire. True to the teachings of the Manchester free-traders, they opposed further extension of territory. Forceful conquest they repudiated as morally wrong and economically unsound, and accordingly withdrew from the Transvaal. By force of circumstances, however, they were led to enter Egypt and to take part in the scramble for African territory following the entrance of Germany into the colonial race (1884).

By this time a new spirit was apparent in England. The fears of the previous generation had not been realized. The growing colonies showed no signs of desiring complete independence. Now that all Europe was struggling for outside territory, Britain awoke to the value of what she possessed. Each in his own way, Seeley, Froude, Frere, Dilke, Kipling, Rhodes, Chamberlain and others voiced the new conviction that the Empire should be maintained, consolidated, extended. Disraeli, who in 1852 had declared, "Those wretched colonies will all be independent in a few years, and they are a mill-stone around our necks,"⁷ changed his mind, made Vic-

toria Empress of India, and began preaching imperialism. The growing competition of Germany in commerce and colonies and (after 1898) in navy, the fear of Russia in Asia, the rise of Japan, all made a united Empire seem increasingly desirable. The idea of the Empire appealed to the imagination, the Empire with its Daughter Nations, its Indian and African millions, its "far-flung battle line," its mighty fleet, its commerce, its resources. The more practical were interested in the colonies as markets and sources of raw material, and as places for the investment of capital. This latter became an increasingly important consideration as the possibilities of profit through the use of native labor in exploiting natural resources became more evident. Territory not immediately useful was taken by way of "pegging out claims for posterity."

The Colonial Conference on the occasion of Victoria's Jubilee (1887) was an indication of the new era. Since then the Daughter Nations beyond the seas have been increasingly taken into the confidence of the home government. More and more affairs of common interest have been handled by conference, discussion, semi-diplomatic negotiation, rather than by the issuance of commands from London. The conferences at Ottawa (1894) and at London (1897, 1902) discussed in particular imperial tariff preference, naval defense, and the practicability of imperial federation.

The Liberals who came to power in 1906, though deeply interested in political and social reforms at home, were not indifferent to the Empire. Their boldness in granting self-government to the conquered Transvaal and Orange Free State, and their steps towards home rule for India and Egypt were denounced by many as treason to the cause of unity. The soundness of their statesmanship has been proved, however, and their faithfulness to the traditions of liberty has been rewarded by the loyalty of South Africa and India in the Great War.

In 1907 the "Colonial" Conference became the "Imperial" Conference, and regular meetings every four years were planned. In 1909 a subsidiary conference was held on naval affairs, in view of the German fleet situation. In 1911 a full Conference met again. The meeting set for 1915 was postponed by the war, but in May, 1917, it gathered in London with the significant addition of representatives of India. Parallel to the Conference a new and important body met, the Imperial War Cabinet, consisting of the British War Cabinet, the Colonial Premiers, and the representatives of India. Consulting as equals, these representatives of the Empire planned how to make its entire strength available for victory. The Conference voted to meet yearly and to continue Indian representation. Both Conference and War Cabinet met again this year. It is agreed that an imperial constitutional convention shall meet after the war to decide on questions of imperial organization.

These problems are many and perplexing. With regard to the self-governing dominions, the first ques-

⁶ Qu. Egerton, 367.

⁷ Qu. Currey, 163.

tion is to devise a method by which they may share in the direction of foreign policy, and may take a fair part in the naval and military defence of the Empire. Since foreign policy may lead to war, which automatically includes the Dominions, they demand some control. The justice of the demand is admitted, but the question of a working scheme remains. Next in importance are questions of free-trade, protection or preferential tariffs, within the Empire and as against the rest of the world. The present British government has accepted the principle of preference, not to include taxes on British food imports. Again there is the question of Asiatic immigration to the Dominions, difficult because the Dominions control their policies, delicate because the Indians are British subjects and the Japanese are allies. Again there is the problem of directing British emigration and British capital to the Dominions.

With regard to the tropical dependencies, other difficulties arise. To what extent are the Dominions to share Britain's control and responsibility? On the whole, the home government has been more careful to protect the rights of natives than have the local self-governing colonies. Increasingly the conscious purpose has been to govern and at the same time wisely educate the native groups, possibly towards more self-government, without premature Europeanizing or loss of what is valuable in their own institutions. Peace, security, and the abolition of slavery have been the obvious results of British rule. To develop the natural resources with British capital and under British supervision by means of an adequate native labor supply, and all without oppression of the natives, is perhaps the central problem. Lloyd-George demands for the German colonies that "the inhabitants must be placed under the control of an administration acceptable to themselves, one of whose main purposes will be to prevent their exploitation for the benefit of European capitalists or governments." Similarly Britain feels a sense of trusteeship for her own backward races.

With regard to India the problems are ever more serious. They center around the degree to which it is wise and safe to extend self-government to representatives of the Indian population, and the degree and manner in which India is to share with the Dominions in guiding the affairs of the Empire. British policy in India has always professed primary concern with the welfare of the population. England's profit is in trade which benefits both. It has been formally declared, and with increasing definiteness since the outbreak of the war, that it is Britain's purpose to grant larger and ultimately complete home rule. But British supremacy must meanwhile remain. The events of the last two years foreshadow the admission of India to Imperial counsels on a substantial equality with the Dominions.

Some steps have been taken towards solving these problems. The Imperial Conference, though an

extra-legal body with advisory powers only, has accomplished much. The Dominions and the Malay States have contributed to naval defense, by ships, money or local navies. The Dominions have granted preferential tariffs to English imports. Strong efforts have been made to bring about a federal union, with a super-parliament and a super-ministry for imperial affairs. There are grave difficulties in this scheme, and the more likely line of development is towards a "Britannic Alliance," in which Britain shall be first among equals.⁸ In the words of the Imperial Conference of 1917, there is to be "full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important portion of the same." The policy of Burke is still sound: to hold the Empire together by "the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties, which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron."

The British Empire is a great experiment in democracy and the education of less developed groups, the success or failure of which affects not only its members, but also the entire world. To the disappointment of the Empire's enemies, and somewhat to the surprise even of its friends, the terrific strain of war has demonstrated the essential soundness of the structure. The experience of Britain and the Dominions seems to show that a League of Free Peoples is practicable; British policy towards India and Egypt and the African peoples at least points the way to a satisfactory relationship between advanced and backward groups. By remaining true to democratic principles, by preserving and deepening the sense of responsibility for the welfare for groups now subject to its authority, by continuing to adapt its policies to various and changing circumstances, the British Empire will prove its fitness for an indefinite survival.⁹

"State Aid to Public Schools in Minnesota" is the title of a study by Raymond A. Kent, which appears as Number 11 of the University of Minnesota Studies in the Social Sciences. Doctor Kent reviews the history of state aid to education, and then makes a detailed investigation of the operation and effect of state aid to public schools from 1912 to 1918. He reaches the conclusion that the administration of state aid is "venerable," but not efficient; that it is not distributed according to local needs of the several classes of schools; that it is a positive detriment to the rural schools; that it does not meet the present conditions in graded and high schools; that greater appropriations are not needed; but that there should be a redirection of the present funds with frequent checking of results.

⁸ Compare R. Jebb, "The Britannic Question."

⁹ Later articles in this series will deal more in detail with India, the Dominions and Imperial Federation.

The Socialistic Upheaval in Europe

BY PROFESSOR LAURENCE M. LARSON, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

The Great War has come to a sudden end. The defection of Bulgaria removed the keystone from the arch of Mid-Europe and the structure collapsed. In the early hours of November 11, the news flashed across the land that Germany had surrendered. It would be difficult to imagine a more overwhelming defeat than the overthrow of the Central Powers in the autumn of 1918. Austria-Hungary has disappeared from the European map, and the imperial regime in Germany has suffered irretrievable disaster. Indeed, at this writing it seems correct to say that the great German state has ceased to exist. In its place has arisen a group of republics all of which appear to look forward to some sort of Germanic federation, but which at present act as if they are independent states.

The chaotic condition in the politics of central and eastern Europe can scarcely be realized at this distance. Where the map in 1914 showed the empires of the Romanoffs and the Hapsburgs there are now a dozen areas clamoring for recognition as sovereign states. So confident are some of them that their demands will be granted at the coming peace conference that they have already begun to make war on their neighbors. Finland seeks to extend her limits eastward into Russia. Poland is making war on Prussia for Posen and parts of West Prussia. The Ukraine is fighting the Poles for the possession of parts of Galicia. Roumania is striving to oust the Ukrainians from Bukowina. Hungary is apparently at war with the Roumanians and the Czecho-Slovaks. The new organization of the Jugo-Slavs, which is still rather unsubstantial, threatens to take up arms against the Italians if they should insist on retaining the Dalmatian coast. The Greeks are anxious to oust the Italians from southern Albania and the Aegean Sea. It is clear that the Conference at Versailles will not be wholly a love feast.

But even greater than these political changes is the social upheaval that Europe has suffered during the last eighteen months. Dukes, princes, kings, and emperors (to the number of nearly 300, it is reported) have renounced their thrones or hereditary rights, and have sought refuge in obscurity. With them has passed a great part of the nineteenth century regime on the social and economic as well as on the political side. The old governing bodies and ruling classes had failed to save the state, and their power has been taken away. Reaction may restore it in part, but Europe will never return entirely to the conditions of 1914.

It was only natural that the more radical political groups, the Socialists and their political neighbors, should assume the leadership in the recent revolutionary movements; they had not been ardently in favor of the war, and at times had even opposed the military policies of their respective governments. In

Russia the more extreme Socialists are still in control, while in Germany the power is held, formally at least, by the moderate section of the party. The new republic of German Austria seems to be governed by a coalition of which the Socialists form a part. It is reported that Poland is to have a Socialist as its first president. The new Finnish state, which will probably also continue as a republic, is still in the control of the middle class; but with German support removed it is doubtful how long the present government will be able to resist Bolshevik pressure.

In practically every state of Europe the ideals and principles of Karl Marx and his followers have gained public favor to a remarkable degree. This is the result not so much of propaganda as of suffering; for even if all Europe has not bled on the battlefield, every people on the Continent has struggled with want and famine. It is possible that more comfortable conditions of living will materially weaken the Socialistic movement, but its present strength should not be discounted.

There are, however, many varieties of Socialism; in Germany at least three can be readily recognized. The "majority Socialists," the party of Ebert and Scheidemann, are still democratic in their political thinking, and believe in the right of the majority to rule. The independent or "minority Socialists" are more radical and thorough-going than their comrades of the majority, but they too believe in the democratic principle. This is the party of Hasse, Kautsky, and Bernstein; and perhaps Ledebour should also be classed among the independents. The Spartacus group, the faction led by Liebknecht and Dittmann, goes farther to the left than either of the other two, and seems to claim closer kinship with the Bolsheviks of Russia, whose distinctive principle appears to be the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The situation is similar all over Europe wherever Socialism is to be found to any appreciable extent. There is everywhere a party of the "reformistic" type which believes in employing existing political institutions in the reconstruction of society to which it is pledged. There is also a faction which believes in swift and perhaps violent revolution, in "direct action," or "mass action," as the only effective methods. Usually the Socialists of this type profess deep sympathy with the ideals of the Bolsheviks. In some countries, in Norway, for example, they are in control of the party organization. In Sweden, on the other hand, Hjalmar Branting, the great leader of Swedish Socialism, has excommunicated this element, and the partisans of direct action are not regarded as members of the Socialist party.

The Bolshevik movement in its present form may be traced to a meeting of Socialistic leaders of the more extreme type held at Zimmerwald in Switzer-

land in 1915. The purpose of the assembly was to revive the "International Society of Workingmen," an organization which took form in 1864, but which was dissolved a decade later. The purpose of the original International Society was to unite the forces of labor the world over without much regard to nationalistic lines. From the very beginning it took a decided stand against war, conscription, and standing armies. It also favored the use of the general strike in the warfare of labor against the political and economic systems of the time.

At the meeting at Zimmerwald representatives were present from Switzerland, France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, and Russia. It is said that Nicolai Lenine, the great leader of the Bolsheviks, was among those in attendance. The following year the "Zimmerwaldists" met in Kienthal (Switzerland), and in 1917 in Stockholm. At the Stockholm conference a manifesto was prepared and adopted calling on the workers of all the nations to employ mass action in a gigantic effort to put an end to war and militarism.

In that same year the extreme wing of the Socialist movement seized the government of Russia, and gave the world an illustration of what mass action might mean and how the program of the new International would probably work out. For more than a year the Bolsheviks have controlled Russia. We have heard much of terror and famine during this period, but little of constructive effort. It is true, of course, that we have received very little reliable information as to conditions in Russia, and are consequently not in position to pass judgment.

There is nothing very novel in the creed of Bolshevism; most of its doctrines go back to Marxian days. But conditions produced by the war and by the revolution in Russia have brought into prominence certain methods and expedients which differentiate the program of the Bolsheviks from that of orthodox Socialism.

1. The Bolsheviks believe implicitly in the theory of class conflict. War between the proletariat and the capitalistic middle class is held by them to be inevitable, and the workers must seek the first favorable opportunity to rise in revolt.

2. In the Socialistic state there is to be ultimately a distribution or nationalization of all land, and private property will be abolished. In England the Labor party, which is moderate in its tendencies, also calls for the nationalization of land. In Russia, so far as we have been informed, no real settlement of the land problem has as yet been attempted. It must be remembered that in both these countries as well as in certain other parts of Europe the land is largely in the hands of the aristocratic classes. The land problem is therefore one of great importance, and also one that involves some very real difficulties.

3. The Bolsheviks hold that the workers labor too many hours per week. In order to give them more time for themselves the Norwegian radicals favor the closing at the earliest possible date of all industries that are not essential to the well-being of society.

4. An important dogma in the creed of the Bolsheviks is internationalism. To them the state is a matter of convenience only. They would remove all economic barriers between states so as to enable a nation that is without a variety of natural resources to draw on the wealth of its neighbors. In the Bolshevik state patriotism, as the term is at present understood, would not flourish and the older idea of citizenship would cease to be held.

5. In such a state there would be no need for standing armies; disarmament is therefore a very important Bolshevik principle. The belief that the world should disarm is, however, by no means limited to radical Socialists; it is probably safe to say that all the important parties in Europe are now in favor of at least a reduction of armaments. In 1915 the Norwegian Socialists made their campaign on the issue of complete disarmament, and polled a heavy vote, though they did not obtain a majority. In Denmark the Socialist party has always stood for disarmament.

6. Bolshevism has also come to be associated with a new type of government, the Soviet form, or government by soldiers' and workmen's councils. The Soviet is somewhat like a local labor union, and the present Russian government is based on a crude federation of these unions or councils. The national council claims both administrative and judicial authority, though the actual administration is carried on by a group of People's Commissioners who derive their authority from the council.

In Germany the highest authority is also in the hands of people's commissioners, a group of six men who form what would ordinarily be called a cabinet. This body seems to be more or less responsible to the executive committee of the German national council, which is made up of representatives from the various local councils or Soviets. Local workmen's councils have been organized in various other countries in Europe, neutral as well as belligerent. The machinery of revolution is thus prepared and ready in nearly all the important urban centers on the Continent.

7. The central principle of Bolshevism is the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenine's government in Russia is based on the organized will of the urban proletariat, which comprises, after all, only a small minority of the nation. The proletariat may in time become the majority, but for some years at least it will have to rule in the manner of a class dictatorship. This is not democracy in any sense of the term, and the Bolsheviks were perfectly consistent in opposing the calling of a constituent assembly. In Germany, too, the extreme elements are resisting the convocation of any such assembly and demand the continuance for the time being of the present provisional system with more extensive power in the hands of the executive committee of the Soviet federation.

It will be readily seen that if human society were to accept the Bolshevik doctrines and reorganize itself accordingly, this would be a new though possibly not

a much better world. Wars would become obsolete, as there would be no armies to carry them on. Production would be reduced to a minimum, and consequently there would be no competition between states for markets or raw materials. Colonies would lose their interest, and imperialism would pass into history. The fervor of patriotism and the passion of nationalism would die down, fade away, and the nations would probably divide into smaller units.

But the possibilities of the present situation are extremely interesting. If Russia and Germany should both become permanently socialistic in their governments and economic life, their example may react favorably on the neighboring states, Finland, Poland, Lithuania, German Austria, and the rest. Of course, everything depends on how successful and satisfactory a Socialistic regime proves to be when its theories are put to the practical test.

The War Aims Course in the Colleges

BY ALBERT KERR HECKEL, PH.D., DEAN OF LAFAYETTE COLLEGE.

Shortly after the great European War broke out, certain alert instructors of history in American colleges developed courses in the causes and conduct of the conflict. What was at first planned by these few instructors was later imposed by the War Department upon all history teachers in institutions where units of the Students' Army Training Corps were established. The new work was entered upon with interest, indeed with enthusiasm, inasmuch as it was not only a radical departure from the normal college curriculum, but it brought to the teacher what seemed to be an opportunity to render a more or less patriotic service. Now that the War Aims Course has been in progress for two months, it may be profitable to take stock of its value, that is, its value to the army and also to the college.

When I speak of the War Aims Course, I emphasize in mind particularly a study of the period of European history which furnishes the background of the Great War. Some teachers think it desirable to define this period as beginning with the Congress of Vienna. This has many advantages, but is hardly expedient in view of the short time allotted to the course. The accession of Bismarck would perhaps be a better starting point. The division of the college year into quarters and the quarterly exodus of student soldiers to Officers' Training Camps automatically fixed the allotment of twelve weeks. The Committee on Education of the War Department graciously granted nine hours weekly for the course, three of these for class work and six for the students' outside preparation. If this time were utilized as planned it ought to be adequate week by week, providing there were enough weeks. But twelve weeks are not enough for any comprehensive treatment of the subject. Of the three hours weekly for instruction, only two can be devoted to lectures, the third hour being needed for quiz, making possible altogether only twenty-four lectures. Twenty-four lectures are too few. And in addition to this time handicap there is another which is not supposed to exist, but which the instructor has had to reckon with, nevertheless. Regardless of any zeal which the student may possess for study and collateral reading, there is the ever potent voice of a Plattsburg lieutenant or top sergeant ready at any moment to drive the student from his quiet place in the history alcove

to kitchen police, guard duty, fatigue duty or what not. Or his zeal for knowledge may fall asleep at the very feet of wisdom (if wisdom may be personified in the War Aims lecturer), a sleep often most honestly earned by fatigued muscles, through strenuous hours of drill prescribed by the military authorities. As was said before, these encroachments of the military upon the academic are not supposed to be, but they are, and they have been from the beginning a deterring influence. But to go back to the time allotment. The twelve weeks' period furnishes little opportunity to give even a sketch of the development of democracy in the world—of the steady conflict between the liberal and the reactionary elements in history which culminated in a dominant democratic ideal among European peoples in general, but failed with the Teuton. Nor can there be any adequate study of the growth of nationalism as a controlling factor in bringing about conditions which caused the war. And it is almost impossible to tell in the few brief class periods available what is wrong with Germany—to describe the organization and analyze the spirit of Prussian militarism—to depict Germany's social organization with its feudal Junkertum—to point out the defects of German character and the shortcomings of the German national policy—to clear the falsity of her political creed and her philosophy of might. Also, granting that there may be two Germanys—the Germany of the Junker and the nobler Germany of great souls—very little can be done in the short twelve weeks to present the case of the finer Germany—the poets, scientists, musicians, philosophers and civic administrators. In the history of each, there are lights and shadows which must be brought out with faithfulness in order to produce a true picture. Lacking time to present these, the instructor sends his students out from the course in possession of his own generalizations, which give to the students more or less definite impressions, but are not balanced in their minds by any sufficient knowledge of facts.

Not only, then, must the bare narrative of political movements be dealt with most meagerly, but we are forced to neglect almost entirely contemporary developments in art, in science, in religion, in social and economic life. And these are the forces in civilization which the modern historian has come to regard

as making the very body of a nation's history and giving direction to its political life. For man is not merely a political animal and history is not merely past politics. Politics are incidental both in men and nations. President Wilson has said that the roots of the present war "run deep into all the obscure soils of history." These obscure soils are not only political and dynastic, they are also economic, scientific, religious, ethnic and social. And yet how much can a student in the War Aims Course learn of the industrial revolution of Europe and its consequences in domestic affairs and international relations? How much can he learn about socialism and its ramifications in politics? What can he know of the problems of race which the war has brought into the foreground? What of any of the tremendous factors outside politics which have gone to create the present situation in Europe, and which will have prominent consideration at the peace table? Instead, he is forced to deal with the sordid story of irresponsible monarchs, degenerate nobilities, intriguing diplomats, and with war and devastation and ruin, which are the legacies of these. Cavour must give place to Bismarck, Darwin and Spencer to Bernhardt and Treitschke, the march of civilization to the tread of armies, the development of natural resources to the building of armaments. Altogether, it will not be strange if the student goes out from the War Aims Course in possession of a knowledge which savors a little too much of "clothes-line gossip" about a hated neighbor rather than of the substantial facts of history.

In spite of these distressing limitations, however, the professor still has time to make clear the main purposes of the war.

Furthermore, the course does present a rare chance to stimulate patriotism. We were advised not to make the course one of propaganda, and yet it could not escape being propaganda. Its greatest service has probably been along this line. In dealing with many highly controversial subjects, the teachers would have to be more than humanly endowed with the scientific spirit, to avoid taking sides. We have been presenting problems and events that are of vital consequence to us, and in the outcome of which we can feel no indifference. Undoubtedly, it is a most difficult thing to do this and remain impartial; and, it seems to me, the teacher may be pardoned the feeling, though dangerous, that at times there are possibly greater things in the world for him to accomplish than an absolutely cold recital of facts, and a pedantic slavishness to the so-called scientific spirit. Of course, the historian cannot sacrifice truth—even to patriotism. Patriotism is vicious if it is not true. We must have the caution and moderation and self-restraint which come from a logical analysis of the mass of accumulated evidence. We do not want any semblance of the spirit which cropped out here and there in some of the four-minute speeches of the Liberty Loan drives. For example, in one of the best theaters in New York City, a speaker appeared on the platform, pulled himself up to his greatest height, and in strutting pride poured forth in orotund voice

his patriotic bombast—how the French and English and Italians had been fighting four years without victory, but it took only a few weeks for our boys to do the job. Small wonder that an amazed Canadian officer in the audience half rose in his seat and modestly expostulated, "Oh, I say, I say." It is possible to be patriotic nationally and at the same time true. The patriot who claims the world for his country, and mankind for his kin, is likely not to be a patriot at all. In his desire to embrace the whole human race in his love, he must spread out his affection so thin that it will probably lose at least its patriotic substance. Love of one's country implies preference for it. The other sentiment may be a religion, but not patriotism. In fact, we have shown in this war some resentment of those citizens who were in our country but not entirely of it—men and women who, professing a universal love for mankind, were willing to set aside our own national interests for what they called the larger interests of humanity. The War Aims Course has served to develop a patriotism which is national and at the same time proportionate. It has substituted a reasonable patriotism for chauvinism.

Unquestionably, also, it has strengthened the morale of our soldiers. It has played at least a modest part in the great campaign of enlightenment which is being carried on by the Committee on Public Information. The course has helped to relieve the soldiers of much perplexity and misinformation, which they had when the war broke out in 1914, or even when the United States entered the war in 1917. They know now that Alsace is not a great lake, one of our frequently quoted American military prisoners to the contrary.

So much for the value of this new study to the student himself. Does it have any value to the teacher as contributing to, or modifying his method? This is a question which as yet can hardly be answered with certainty. The War Department Committee on Education provided in the beginning for a combination of war aims with English composition; also for advanced war aims courses in the governments of Europe and in philosophy. In the college which I represent, the eighteen-year-old men are given the normal freshman course in English composition, modified by a weekly lecture on War Issues by the professor in English, and the assignment of war topics for theme writing. The nineteen-year-old men are enrolled in a course, History of Europe from 1862 to 1914. The twenty-year-old men are permitted to elect a course in government or philosophy, or four-minute speaking. Thus the War Aims Course, parceled out among different departments in the college, is being taught here and there by men not trained specifically in history. To many history teachers this may seem in a measure a return to the old days when the subject of history was taught by any professor who chanced to have room for it on his schedule, regardless of training or equipment. This can hardly have any permanent influence on history teaching, except that the regular professor of history

may be able to glean incidentally some valuable hints as to angles of approach, from his colleagues who joined the rescuing crew, unbound by traditional methods.

The War Department also stipulated that there should be a weekly quiz period. Here the student is held to account for the lectures and the text assignments, and—which is more important—he is encouraged to ask questions. This plan affords excellent opportunity for discussion of controversial points, and results in an enlivening good—both to the student and the instructor. Incidentally, the instructor is, through the quiz, able to see how his students react to his teaching. I am not certain but that the quiz period might be permanently adopted by the history lecturer in all his courses, to real advantage.

There is one question in method which the War Aims Course has answered with some definiteness. It has settled, so far as it is concerned, an old controversy among history teachers as to the wisdom of requiring students to use primary sources in their study. Here, primary sources are imperative. The subject-matter is brought down even to the morning newspaper. Moreover, the Committee on Public Information have placed in the hands of students a part of the material from which the history of the war will be written. The committee, it is true, have moved with remarkable deliberateness in this, being several months behind the teacher in their promised

co-operation. Nevertheless, when their material does come, it is valuable. From it the student gets, first-hand information which is illuminating and most satisfying to him. There are, for example, excerpts from the utterances of German writers and public men, which are self-incriminating evidence against Germany. Through them, the student is able to draw his own deductions, regarding the forces which drove Europe into the war, and the issues of the war. In the use of sources, the new course may have a vitalizing influence on our teaching methods. And these may be further vitalized by the mere intensity of feeling aroused by the war. In presenting its aims and purposes, teachers have more than ever before, taught from the heart as well as from the head. When the war broke out, we were willing as neutral bystanders to present historical facts with great dispassionateness. But German atrocities were facts, and they were facts which opened our eyes as moral beings to the inhuman qualities of German militarism, and to the ideals of the State which bred militarism. We felt more and more willing to tell the ugly truth about Germany, and to put the Germans in the witness-box against themselves. Never before, have we felt more definitely that there are moral forces at work in history making. And as a result, it may be that the teacher of history will, for at least a time, be also something of an advocate.

AN ENGLISH VIEW, BUT NOT WHOLLY INAPPLICABLE TO AMERICAN COLLEGES



Cadet. "REALLY, FROM THE WAY THESE COLLEGE AUTHORITIES MAKE THEMSELVES AT HOME YOU'D THINK THE PLACE BELONGED TO THEM."

Use of Pictures and Lantern Slides in Study of the Great War

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE F. ZOOK, PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE.

"Give a child objects, something that can be visualized, let him see it with his own eyes, and it is astounding how rapidly that child will learn," said Thomas A. Edison in speaking of the value of visual instruction. Appreciating this principle energetic teachers of history frequently make pilgrimages to the scenes of historic events and take their pupils to museums containing historical collections. By such direct observation they often secure as much historical information in a very short time as can be obtained by hours of reading. The truth of this observation becomes more apparent when one considers what imperfect ideas are formed by the lively and uncritical imagination of the average young person by reading the usual inadequate historical narrative. There are very few people, indeed, who have not had their youthful visionary conceptions of places and events received from early reading greatly altered in later years by the actual sight of historical places. To a less degree, but no less certainly, an adult reader experiences the same sensation upon visiting scenes of historic interest.

In most instances it is impossible to see the places and events about which we read from day to day. Several millions of young Americans will have an opportunity to see something of the present world war, but on account of their sacrifice the great majority of Americans will be spared this experience. Indeed, although large numbers of Americans may at some time in their lives view some of the implements of war now in use, only a small portion of them will ever even visit the scenes where our soldiers are battling with the enemy. Those who do not come in direct contact with the Great War in all its marvelous variety of action, equipment and setting must perforce depend for adequate information concerning it on historical descriptions—and pictures.

The use of photographs as historical data is, of course, quite recent. Although the camera was well known in the days of the Civil War, the Government took no means of preserving a pictorial record of those stirring events. Indeed, if it had not been for the persistent efforts of Mathew B. Brady and a few other photographers whom he inspired, there would have been no photographic record of the Civil War. Brady spent all of his means and risked his life upon numerous occasions to obtain the 7,000 photographs which he left as a memorial of his work. Historians may very well be grateful for his years of self-sacrifice in the Union army. His photographs are now extensively reproduced in our historical literature touching this period.

Indeed, so valuable have historical photographs come to be regarded that in recent years few textbooks in history have been considered satisfactory by progressive teachers unless they contained clear, well-

chosen maps and illustrations. Where the illustrations are meaningless, ill chosen or posed, experience shows that the reader usually pays no attention to them. If, perchance, they do attract his attention he gains therefrom only imperfect and false ideas. Such illustrations which do not tell the story truthfully are therefore open to the same objections which may be levelled at historical accounts which leave wrong and inadequate impressions.

The imperfection of text-book illustrations of a historical nature have become even more obvious in recent years by the development of numerous series of historical pictures and lantern slides for purposes of visual instruction. There has, therefore, been an attempt to effect a better co-ordination between the usual instruction gained from reading and the increasing possibilities of this new form of teaching. A number of visual instruction departments in various states have collected sets of lantern slides dealing with historical subjects which they distribute to their patrons accompanied by prepared lectures or notes which may be read as the lantern slides are exhibited or used as a basis of information for the reader's remarks.

The Great War is a subject in which there is at present universal interest. War books are everywhere in demand. Each new account sheds some light on this stupendous struggle, and yet our ideas of it would be very imperfect if it were not for the pictures. One realizes this when he attempts to visualize a few of those forbidden pictures such as the explosion of a depth bomb, the camouflage of war-vessels or the appearance of American docks in France.

In response to the universal interest in war pictures each of the important nations in the conflict has carefully preserved a pictorial record of the war. After passing the careful scrutiny of the military and naval censors the great majority of these official photographs are issued to the public by the British, French, Canadian, Italian and American governments. The work of taking these pictures in the war zone for the United States government has been delegated to soldiers in the signal corps, many of whom risk their lives almost daily in order to obtain pictures portraying actual conditions of warfare. These, together with thousands of photographs obtained by private persons back of the lines, are being carefully catalogued and filed in the historical section of the war college at Washington. Already more than 800,000 pictures relating to America's part in this war have been filed for the benefit of future generations. For the first time in our history, therefore, we shall have a complete pictorial record of the progress of this, the greatest war in American history.

Where such a wealth of pictorial data exists, the

chief problem as in all such instances is a matter of intelligent selection and use. The better this is done the greater value these war pictures will have. Keeping the possibilities of effective instruction in mind becomes all the more necessary in connection with the Great War where almost every war picture excites a degree of public interest, but where not all of them are of value for purposes of instruction. The ship's mascot may be amusing and interesting, but when one has seen several pictures of his antics he knows little more about the navy than before. This does not mean that pictures which portray important phases of human life are not interesting, because the picture of French women toiling in munition factories in order to make arms for their husbands and brothers at the front, convinces us that all the romance is not in story, and yet such a picture is eloquent in what it teaches.

It should be remembered, therefore, that all war pictures lose much of their value if they are viewed in the usual casual manner as unrelated units. In order to secure the best results and give an adequate conception of any phase of the Great War by the use of pictures, there is as much necessity for arranging them in a well chosen series as there is for the logical sequence of paragraphs in a narrative or description. Just as historical pictures failed to accomplish their greatest results until they were made available in pictorial series or in sets of lantern slides by the visual instruction departments in our states and by enterprising private firms, so pictures of the Great War will also fall short of their possibilities unless they are made available in the same way. Indeed, it is this quality of a carefully selected series of war pictures or lantern slides which gives value to what otherwise would be an unrelated mass of pictorial data.

When such a series of war pictures or lantern slides can be obtained special time may be set aside

in our schools with greater profit for consideration of various phases of the Great War just as time is now devoted to visual instruction along many other lines. The experience of visual instruction departments in conjunction with other subjects makes it certain that the most satisfactory method of presenting war pictures is by the use of lantern slides. When carefully prepared lectures or notes accompany the slides this method of instruction is at its best.

Several departments of visual instruction, especially those in the universities of Texas and Wisconsin, have made arrangements to circulate lectures and lantern slides in connection with the war. One or two of the most important commercial makers of lantern slides have seized the opportunity to do the same thing. Probably the most important effort in this direction has been made by the Committee on Public Information which has put at the disposal of the public an entire series of lectures and slides dealing with American war activities.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that the present widespread interest in America's war activities will undoubtedly continue with little abatement for years after the war is over. Our schools will undoubtedly devote considerable time to the study of this wonderful epoch in American history which has placed our nation in the most intimate connection with affairs the world over. Unlike all previous wars, there is a tremendous amount of pictorial data which will be of increasing value for historical purposes as the years go by. Whether this data is used to the best advantage largely depends on the selection and arrangement of these pictures in series dealing with various phases and topics of the Great War. If this work is done well our schools may easily become the leaders in the use of pictures to afford their pupils an intelligent understanding of how America went to war.

Current Events Through Pictures¹

BY DANIEL C. KNOWLTON, PH.D., CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL, NEWARK, N. J.

PICTURES AS A MEDIUM FOR INSTRUCTION IN CURRENT EVENTS.

Two hundred years and more have gone by since Johann Amos Comenius called the attention of educators to the value of the picture and the wonderful possibilities of the object-lesson by the publication of his *Orbis sensalium pictus*, sometimes called the *Orbis pictus*, the first children's picture book. Revolutionary as the idea was then, the presence of pictures in the classroom excites surprise or comment no

¹ The following paragraphs represent some of the classroom experience of the author with *Leslie's Weekly Magazine*. As editor of the educational department he has sought to direct the attention of teachers to the possibilities of picture study. The general principles which are laid down here apply equally well to any picture study.

longer. School administrators, textbook writers, teachers everywhere look upon them as an indispensable part of the paraphernalia of the profession. We even adorn our textbooks in mathematics with attractive illustrations, to say nothing of the wealth of such material to be found in textbooks for the study of language, geography and history.

Their use is not confined within the four walls of the schoolroom. The advertiser and the government official recognize their value, as the use of these in newspapers, pamphlets, posters and the like bear ample witness. "Uncle Sam Wants You" brings before the eye the now well-known poster of James Montgomery Flagg with its pointing finger.

The teacher has too often failed to avail herself to any extent of this medium, so generally admitted to



ALL FRANCE IS IN A HURRY AND THE POILU, WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR HIS OWN KIT, SEES TO IT THAT THIS NOT LIGHT RESPONSIBILITY IS NOT OVERLOOKED. THESE MEN ARE ON THE HIGH ROAD TO THE FRONT.

possess such gripping power. Our boys and girls have not been educated up to the use of the picture. They see little in it beyond what they are told to see. The fate of the picture rests, as it were, entirely with the person who framed the title or wrote the paragraph accompanying it. This too often suffices, and the illustration is allowed to pass without comment and is thought of merely as one of many attractive features of the up-to-date textbook. The student often strives to recall by its place on the page the accompanying text, missing through lack of guidance or the teacher's failure to develop his power of thought through observation, that power of reproducing the text which is latent in the picture itself when once it has been properly presented.

Two main avenues are always open to the teacher to reach the student and to arouse him to that self-activity which is the primary arm of all education. The one is the Emotion, the other the Eye. By the use of the latter, the former is often stimulated to greater activity. A picture appeals essentially to the eye, but it must appeal as something more than a mere dash of color, or a few persons or objects thrust against a dimly apprehended background. Some pictures are so conceived and drawn as to arrest the attention. That is essentially the artist's purpose. An illustration of this type of picture has already been given. The "punch" which may seem to be lacking in the picture by itself may be imparted

to it by the teacher if she will perfect herself in the use of these.

The principles underlying picture presentation may be illustrated by citing a few concrete examples based upon the use of *Leslie's* in connection with the study of Current Events. No argument should be needed to convince the up-to-date teacher of the importance of keeping her pupils abreast of current happenings. It may be difficult to find time commensurate with their importance, but some time, some place, must be found for this current material. Intelligent reading of the daily or weekly newspaper should be cultivated from the very moment when the boy or girl begins to show an interest in what is taking place in his neighborhood; when he becomes an interested listener, and an active participant in the conversation about the dinner table. He is now awake to his own immediate environment; the time has come for directing his attention to that larger world of which his community is but a part. His little village may seem but an eddy in the great tide which engulfs the city, but the world has become so small in our day that he may soon find himself struggling in the swift current of the main stream. You protest that he cannot possibly understand such a situation as is presented in the Far East or such conditions as are peculiar to present-day Russia. These are tangled skeins to unravel presenting the greatest difficulties even to the keen student of affairs. Interest, however, may be aroused; and a foundation may be laid for an intelligent appreciation of the great world movements and his relation to these. We are possessed for this purpose of the most attractive medium known in the entire field of education—the picture. This kind of instruction will make for the best form of patriotism, and this in turn will make for democracy.

Let us assume that the approach to the events of a given week is through the medium of a weekly periodical like *Leslie's Weekly*. The appeal here is



AT THE HEAD OF THE PROCESSION AT THE RIGHT IS A COSSACK OFFICER RIDING BY THE SIDE OF A GERMAN OFFICER. AT THE SIDES ARE RUSSIAN, GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN SOLDIERS. THE FRATERNIZING OF RUSSIAN AND HUN SOLDIERS APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN A ONE-SIDED LOVE, FOR THE RUSSIAN MINISTER AT BERLIN NOW BEGS THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT "TO CEASE EVERY KIND OF HOSTILITY AS CAPTURES OF OUR TERRITORY ARE CAUSING GREAT UNREST AMONG THE MASSES."

a pictorial one, although in subject-matter *Leslie's* will be found to compare favorably with weeklies which stress the printed page rather than the picture. Our issue is that of June 1. We will assume for the moment that no use has been made of the Reader's Guide and Study Outline to be found in each number; that the work is in the nature of an unprepared recitation. Let us thumb over the issue, noting what it contains. What are some of the outstanding features? A picture of General Foch; a double page devoted to the Y. M. C. A., which has also been introduced to us by an attractive cover; another double page referring to the "West Front;" some pictures taken on the American sector; some views in and about Paris; a group of Russian scenes; and still another double page showing the construction of wooden ships. The first questions suggested are,



WHILE FRANCE AND ALL FRIENDS IN THAT BRAVE COUNTRY FELT EVERY CONFIDENCE THAT THE LINE WOULD HOLD WHEN THE KAISER THREW HIS MILLIONS AGAINST IT, EVERY PRECAUTION WAS TAKEN TO SAFEGUARD THE CIVIL POPULATION AND TO CALL ALL AVAILABLE TROOPS INTO ACTIVE SERVICE. ABOVE IS A TRUCK WITH AMERICAN "HUSKIES" OFF FOR THE PICARDY FRONT.

How shall such material be organized by the teacher for effective use? and When properly organized, how shall it be presented to the class?

The first of these problems is solved in part by the Reader's Guide. A key thought is here suggested, namely, the contrast between the two fronts and America's special interest in the situation in each case. It is the war problem which is emphasized—that war problem which towers far and above all other considerations, absorbing our interest and shaping our entire national life. Chameleon-like, it is constantly changing, or perhaps it might be more appropriate to say that like the kaleidoscope, it assumes a new form with each passing event and pre-



AMERICAN ENGINEER CORPS MEN HURRYING AWAY TO THE BATTLE. THIS GROUP WAS ABOUT TO ENTRAIN, BUT STOOD IN LINE FOR ITS PICTURE.

sents aspects which are constantly changing. It may be analyzed and broken up into a series or group of obstacles or problems to be surmounted; at other times it may seem to present but one big aspect, and that a vital one. A selection must be made of material from a given issue that will enable the teacher to use what appeals to her as the most attractive and gripping portion of the magazine. Let us assume that the class is studying American history or current events. Assuming no previous use by the student of the material in the Guide, the teacher recognizes at least four problems or points of interest in connection with the events pictured in this particular issue. The first is the testing of our men on the Western front, and the efforts of Germany through her propaganda to nullify their presence there (see cut); the second, the shipbuilding activity (see cut); the third, the menacing activity of Germany in Russia, especially in the Ukraine and in eastern Russia; and finally the German drive towards Paris (see cut).

The class is asked, "What sort of a problem does Russia present? Look at the pictures on page 761 (see cut), and tell us what is taking place there, and why the situation should be looked upon as serious. The editor has given the group of pictures the heading, 'The Tiger in the Russian Tent.' What does he mean?" Nine students out of every ten will proceed to read the captions accompanying the pictures, and answer your questions by repeating the information to be found there. While we admit that these



HAVING FORCED HIS HEAD INTO THE RUSSIAN TENT, THE HUN NOW MAKES HIMSELF AT HOME, MUCH TO THE DISCOMFORT OF UKRAINIANS, FINNS AND OTHER INHABITANTS OF RUSSIA. GERMAN ENGINEERS ABOVE ARE REBUILDING A UKRAINE BRIDGE DESTROYED IN THE RUSSIAN RETREAT.

paragraphs are there to be read, the reading of these does not constitute a picture study. Far from it! If they begin and end their work here, then the pictures are to them so much information which might have been apprehended just as readily from a printed page. What have they *seen for themselves* in these pictures? Have the pictures really impressed themselves upon their minds to such an extent that thought processes have actually been stimulated? This is the real test. Let us see if we can attain this much-to-be-desired result.

What do you actually see in the picture?

"Some men building a bridge, several of them in German dress." "A great crowd lining a street and a procession marching past headed by a band—apparently a procession of soldiers, but curiously enough unarmed; still another view in this same city, showing rather prominently in the foreground two men on horseback, apparently of different nationalities. In their immediate presence are groups of soldiers wearing uniforms which seem to indicate that they are not all soldiers in the same army."

What do these pictures mean? What is there in such scenes to excite alarm or fear? Where were these scenes taken? Here the element of geography is introduced, and it is often the key which unlocks the thought processes and enables the boy or girl to really apprehend what is suggested in the pictures before him. *The Ukraine. Brody.* Where are they? Why are they of interest? Why should a peaceful bridge building scene concern us? Why have these Germans interested themselves in bridge building?



BRODY, A SMALL TOWN ON THE RUSSIAN-AUSTRIAN FRONTIER WHICH THE RUSSIANS HELD RIGHT UP TO THE SIGNING OF THE UKRAINE PEACE, IS NOW A PART OF AUSTRIA. ABOVE ARE GERMAN TROOPS, RUSSIAN SOLDIERS AND A PART OF THE CIVIL POPULATION ACCOMPANYING A LARGE PARTY OF AUSTRIAN PRISONERS WHICH HAS JUST REACHED THE TOWN FROM THE INTERIOR OF RUSSIA.



REFUGEE CHILDREN, MANY IN CHARGE OF NUNS, POURED INTO PARIS IN MARCH AND APRIL IN VAST NUMBERS DAILY WHEN THE HUN THREATENED TO BREAK THE LINE IN THE NORTH. THE AMERICAN RED CROSS AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS WERE STRAINED TO THE UTMOST TO PROVIDE PROPER ACCOMMODATIONS.

Why has a bridge building scene been selected to picture what is happening in the Ukraine? What does this mingling of soldiers of different nations mean? Is it at all common in warring Europe? Where is the danger? How are we interested? These and similar questions begin to bring home to the class the idea which the pictures are meant to convey. A live class can be trusted to carry the teacher much farther, depending upon the age of the student and whether these ideas have already been presented in some other form. The object of the questions in the Reader's Guide is to arouse in the student just such an interest in the pictures outside the classroom, and to give them a significance which may be easily missed unless they actually begin to apply their own preconceived notions or experiences to the message which they are intended to convey.

Often one person sees in a picture something which is lost upon another. Take, for example, some actual data upon the pictures in cut, submitted in reply to the question, "What happened 'When the Huns struck at Paris?'" This work was based upon a study of the pictures which was made in the classroom without any assistance or previous preparation. Here are some of the answers:

"Yanks with full equipment and happy."

"Poilus cleaning their guns and preparing their kit."

"French children probably without mother or father, and nuns with thin faces and exhausted looks."

"American troops conveyed to the front in trucks."

"Americans, well supplied and well equipped."

"First glance at the picture gives the impression of moving."

"Refugees flocking to Paris."

"Kits hurriedly but thoroughly inspected."

Are we satisfied to let these answers pass; do they indicate *all* that the pictures show? What often seems lacking in such a picture test is the use of the imagination. The student has seen the more obvious details of the pictures, but has failed to endow them with life and reality. He has not reconstructed the scene of terror and confusion, the hustle and bustle, the calm confidence of the veteran, the anticipations of the recruits, the suffering of helpless non-combatants, and the problem of their care. He has not visualized Paris and what a blow at Paris would really mean. He has not contrasted it with the blow at Antwerp or at some other great city which the fortunes of the present war have placed in the hands of that relentless onrushing grey horde of invaders. He has not read or sensed the harrowing details of the invasion of Belgium, so vividly portrayed for us by pen and pencil. These pictures must in every case be linked up with his experiences, or awaken new ones in order to convey their message and impress the fact or facts upon which they are based.

You may by this time be ready to protest that there is not time for such a development of ideas by means of this pictorial material. The process is at best a slow one, especially if little time or attention have been given to picture study. Let the work then be highly selective. Let us take the two or three events which we regard as most vital in the current issue. Let us build upon them, seeking to impress upon the boy or girl what it is that he is to look for in these pictures. The Reader's Guide which may be supplied by the teacher is designed to economize on the time and effort demanded for successful work along these lines; to constitute as it were a preparation and a following-up process. By following the suggestions to be found there the work of teacher in the classroom is supplemented and driven home. It is in the nature of an assignment. Space does not permit of questions illustrative of the actual drawing out process which becomes the main problem of the classroom. While the work is new, it may be necessary in the actual questioning there to round out and add to the rather brief series of questions which constitute the assignment. These questions should touch what might be termed the "high spots." Much depends also upon what the student has already done in connection with the study of current topics. More detailed questioning is needed at the outset to draw out the pupil; to encourage him to tell what he sees; and to demonstrate to his satisfaction the values inherent in this pictorial material.

The recitation should leave a clear-cut idea of two or three of the great happenings of the preceding week. If a notebook is kept (and its use in this connection should be encouraged) what the student learns about world affairs may be jotted down at the end of the recitation or in the course of the discus-

sion. A certain amount of unity is desirable in this part of the work. Let the class suggest what has been brought out about the Russian situation, or the facts as to the drive on Paris. These are noted down as they are briefly summarized by different members of the class. The following week it becomes an easier task to relate the contents of the new issue to the material contained in the earlier magazines, and references can be made back and forth which will serve to convey that sense of unity and continuity which is vital to best work in current-event study.

One of the most important steps in picture study has to do with the approach thereto. This should be of such a nature as to enlist at once the interest of the student. The aid of the student may be invoked to secure a satisfactory approach, by asking him to examine each picture carefully before coming to class and bring in a question suggested by each. You must insist that they approach the picture with a challenge; that they analyze it, that they break it up into its component parts. They must be so trained that they will look for a message. This must be conveyed to them in language to which they are accustomed. It must strike a responsive chord in their very soul, or your picture is so much wasted printer's ink. Concentration upon it; time for its consideration; a marshalling of all their related experiences about it; these constitute the open sesame which will secure for the picture a place in the galleries of memory, where in company with others it will enrich the experiences and enlarge the understanding.

...at it? Do the
...it is a difficult problem
...the drive?

Smashing One German Lie, p. 756. How different are the conditions pictured here from those on pp. 754-755? How different is the task of our boys from that of the French and English elsewhere? What difficulties have our boys met with in their relations with the French? How have the Germans made it harder for them? What lie or lies have now been "smashed"? The number and variety of lies circulated by the Germans in this country are well illustrated in the pamphlet put out by the Committee on Public Information, *The Kaiser in America: One Hundred German Lies*.

When the Hun Struck, p. 757. What happened behind the lines when the drive was on? What part did America have in this? With what sort of equipment are these soldiers provided? How do the equipments differ, if at all? Make some inquiries as to the marching equipment of an American soldier. Compare this picture with the upper picture on p. 755 and indicate how much of a strain it is upon soldiers to be rushed to the front. What equipment do they need in this case and why? What are the problems involved in connection with this?

The Generalissimo, p. 749. Compare this picture of General Fe... with the picture in the issue of August 20. (The latter was probably taken several months ago.) Do you note any marked differences?

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The March of Democracy — a Masque for Victory Day Celebrations

WRITTEN BY CHARLES B. McLINN, PRINCIPAL HIGH SCHOOL, NEW ALBANY, INDIANA.

PRESENTED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE AUTHOR ON THE BANKS OF SILVER CREEK, GLENWOOD PARK, NEW ALBANY, INDIANA.

FOREWORD

The Masque, The March of Democracy, carries within its action a pageant of American history co-equal in interest with the symbolic story of Masque.

The Masque is performed on the natural stage surrounded by an amphitheatre of hills backed by the foliage of trees growing on the banks of Silver Creek.

PROLOGUE

The call to arms once more alarms the world
And freedom's fight is waged anew. The stars
Have crossed the path of Autocratic Power
And toward the east our eyes are turned to see
The dawn of Universal Peace. From out
The years the echoes come of marching feet
That mingle on this Independence Day
With tread of mighty nations toward the goal
That first we set. Upon this field we bring
The story of the Present and the Past
To show that in our flag the stars reveal
The destiny of the world—that it shall be
Throughout all time—safe for Democracy.

The story opens with a presentation of our Allied European Nations happily engaged in the pleasures of countries at peace—Serbia, Italy, Russia, Belgium, France, England. The countries are represented by girls in the dress of the peasantry, who dance the folk dances of the nations they represent.

Breaking into this peaceful scene, comes the domineering spirit of Autocracy, rampant, driving an armored chariot drawn by slaves. A herald carries the black flag with a death's head. Autocracy is garbed in heavy mail and carries in one hand a scourge, in the other a bludgeon. Following in his train, come the horrors of his creation—War, Famine, Pestilence, Fire, Rapine, Terror, Death, Greed.

WAR is clothed in red and black, helmeted, carries a drawn spear. DEATH wears the grinning mask of death and the white grave clothes, and carries a white cross. FAMINE shows the wasted body and hollow-eyed weakness of starvation. She leads a child by the hand. PESTILENCE bears on his face and body great ulcers of disease. FIRE wears flashing tongues of red leaping from his draperies and carries a flaming fire brand. RAPINE has his eyes covered with a wizard mask of scarlet and half conceals his face in the folds of the long scarlet cloak which covers him. TERROR, in scant garments of gray, crouches close to War. GREED glitters with gold. In front of Autocracy's chariot, flee a band of terrified refugees. They mingle with

the dancers. The peaceful scene breaks into confusion. Autocracy halts his chariot.

AUTOCRACY

Autocracy am I. You most obey.
No law but might can check my right divine.
Upon the backs of subject peoples lay
My burdens brought by Famine, Fire and Sword.
Submit or die. No hope of Freedom hold.
My hate shall reach to every land and crush
With iron fist the love of Liberty.
Ho, comrades, chant our hymn of Hate.

CHORUS OF AUTOCRACY AND ATTENDANTS

Freedom we hate with a lasting hate,
Hate that we will never forget.
Freedom of conscience and freedom of thought,
Freedom that men with their blood have bought,
Freedom that dares defy us yet.
Hate, hate with a hate that burns
All that stands in tyranny's path.
Hate of Justice and hate of Peace,
Hate of Good Faith, hate without cease,
Hate of all men who brave our wrath.
The World cannot withstand our hate.
We hate the Right. No law but Might.

WAR

Upon the altar of thy greed and power
I lay the sacrifice of human life,
Of wasted lands and broken men.
I light the fires that tears of women cannot quench
And loose my dogs of war that they may feed
Upon the progress of a thousand years.

FIRE

I am Fire—
Scorching and leaping,
Lurid I climb
Up the night sky,
In hot flames of Hell
I have lighted my fire-brand.
Roof-tree and store-house,
Harvest and orchard,
Die in my breath,
As I ride on the wind.

FAMINE

Cruel famine, gnawing hunger,
Grim and frightful, hollow-eyed,
I shall pipe for you sweet music,
Sobs of children, bread denied.

RAPINE

Thou hast been a gracious master to me,
Fed my lust in countless wars.
The hand of violence I have laid
Upon the weak and helpless.
Along my way soft Mercy dies
That I may plant an iron heel
Upon the breast of Beauty and fair Virtue laugh to
scorn.

PESTILENCE

The hot breath of disease I bring
To blast the land where War must work thy will.
Fever and Pain and Filth destroy
All that the sword has spared.

TERROR

Sudden I spring
Out of the midnight,
Freezing the blood
In a merciless grip.
Close with my brothers,
Rapine and Murder,
I follow thy footsteps
To haunt and to kill.

DEATH

Throughout the ages I have seen
Brave souls that flung defiance to thy power
Look in my face and smile.
The white cross marks my service;
I am ready at thy call.

GREED

I am thy master—these but thy servants.
Gold have I brought thee, and limitless power—
Come with me yet, though I lead to destruction;
Greed is my name, Thou knowest me well.

As Greed ends his speech, from out of the groups of Europeans at the back, come Spirits of Grief, clothed in gray with enveloping veils of black gauze. These fill the stage and dance "The Grief of the World."

Following the dance a trumpet sounds a jubilant note. Autocracy starts, surprised and alarmed. The refugees and Allied Nations take courage. From the west, Heralds followed by Trumpeters, lead forty-eight girls each wearing on her breast a star and carrying in her hand the flag of a State of the Union. The stars cross the stage and take their place in the background. AMERICA enters with Columbia at her side, holding the flag at her back. She sits on a dais, a confident figure, golden helmet on her head, golden sword across her knees, and in her hand a Service Flag bearing a single star—the pledge of America to give an undivided and a single service to the cause which pleads for righteous help.

The dais bearing America and Columbia is borne in on the shoulders of her Men at Arms.

Attending America come Humanity, symbolized by the Red Cross, Liberty, Law, Church, Food Supply,

Liberty Loan, War Gardens, Mines. Humanity is clothed in a glorified Red Cross uniform, with floating gauze draperies.

Liberty carries the torch of Enlightenment and is crowned with a radiant halo.

Law wears the purple and ermine.

Food Supply is costumed to symbolize the harvests in colors of ripened grain. She bears a cornucopia and on her head wears a wreath of wheat.

Liberty Loan wears the colors of our national currency, green with silver coins covering it.

War Gardens wears a brown garden costume of overalls, coat and straw hat and carries a hoe.

Mines is dressed as a miner with lighted torch in his cap. He carries a pick.

As America approaches Autocracy she rises to her feet and speaks.

AMERICA

Hold! Into thy firmament I bring my stars,
The star of hope, the star of peace, the star of equal
justice to all men,
And every star that dots my skies tells of a victory
won

In the old fight with tyranny and greed.

My sword is ever quick to serve

Humanity's great need. My soil

Has made a home for those who fled

Autocracy's fell power. Upon my flag

The light of Freedom shines, and in the faces of my
sons

Breaks now in waves the storm of wrath

On fields of battle Over There.

Humanity crosses to the refugees and plants her standard in their midst. At her beckon a crowd of Red Cross girls follow and surround them. HUMANITY speaks as she crosses to refugees:

O'er racking pain and fevered brow
My Red Cross banner is unfurled.
To you in your great need I come,
The Greatest Mother in the World.

LIBERTY (*advancing to the foot of the dais*)

Thy sons in my name lift the flag
And fight again that I may live
Within the hearts of men. From thy shores
Where I have found a home, I lead them back
To strike at last the shackles from the World.
Thy history is the story of my growth,
Its pages glow with deeds of valor done
To free the spirit of mankind. I call
From out the past the memory of those deeds
To show that in the sons flows blood of worthy sires.

At a gesture from Liberty, the trumpet sounds and a series of episodes in the struggle for democracy is shown. As each group passes, America addresses Autocracy.

The Puritan group is a reproduction of the picture, "The Puritans Going to Church."

AMERICA

They found a home upon my rockbound shores
Where Conscience might be free.
Their footsteps mark the trail of freedom to the
West.

The second group, the Revolutionary period, is represented by the reproduction of the picture, "The Spirit of '76."

AMERICA

From Bunker Hill to Yorktown plain
The tale of freedom runs.
The snows of Valley Forge are stained
With blood of my brave sons.
The bell that then rang out the news of Liberty's
new birth
Proclaims Autocracy's downfall
Once more to all the earth.

The war of 1812 is represented by a company of ship gunners with powder-stained faces and with rammers in their hands.

AMERICA

They fought for Freedom of the seas
With Liberty's song on their lip,
"We have met the enemy and they are ours"
And "Don't give up the ship."

The Civil War group is a Union officer with a squad of soldiers in blue, who lead a slave in manacles. As they near the central group, the officer strikes off the manacles with his sword and the slave falls to his knees with hands raised in thanksgiving.

AMERICA

Mine eyes have seen the host of Right in valiant columns wheel,
With Freedom's lightning flashing from the serried ranks of steel,
Lift a race of enslaved people from Oppression's iron heel,
While through the smoke of battle the Eternal stars reveal
That God is marching on.

Soldiers and sailors of the Spanish-American War bring in a Cuban and a Filipino to the tune of "A Hot Time in the Old Town To-night."

AMERICA

Beyond my shores the flag protecting flies
On San Juan's hill beneath the tropic skies.
For small and subject nations there dawned a better day
When Freedom rode with Dewey's fleet into Manila Bay.

Next comes a group of emigrants of all nations. Their leader speaks:

The torch that Liberty holds high has sent
Its gleam to every land. We seek a home
Within its rays where Pestilence and Fear
And all the hordes of autocratic power
Shall touch us not. Their hand is heavy on us.
Give us hope.

LIBERTY

Dwell then with me beneath the colors that I bear
—the hope of all the world.

THE GERMAN REVOLUTIONISTS OF 1848

We bring deep in our hearts the love of Freedom.
The Fatherland has cast us out because we strove
To light the fires of hope that tyrant power might
end.

We pledge you loyal hearts and from our sturdy stock
Will spring true men to help you in your need.

Liberty now retires and the group of Material Resources advances. As FOOD SUPPLY speaks, the Dance of the Harvest comes on. The dancers are costumed in the golden color of the harvest and carry sickles.

Upon my teeming fields
Now toil a patriot horde.
Their service is no less to thee
Than those that wield the sword.

LIBERTY LOAN calls the Dance of the Dollars. The dancers are costumed in green with bangles of coin covering the dress.

I gather the wealth of thy children.
The patriot dollars they lend.
Unselfishly, gladly they bring them
Thy righteous cause to defend.

WAR GARDENS brings on the Gardeners' dance. The dancers are costumed in khaki overalls with straw hats and carry hoes.

Come, gardeners, with your patriot hoes—
A bayonet's thrust they give.
You too can strike effective blows
That Freedom's cause may live.

LAW

The Law that bedges Freedom won
On countless fields through sacrifice
Bows 'neath the bludgeons of a ruthless foe.

CHURCH

Mercy and peace walk with me,
When bloody hands are laid on them
I know again Gethsemane.

Enter soldiers and sailors who form a lane and stand at salute as

Democracy and her followers come forward.

Truth with her trumpet leads the way, then Light with burning torch, and grouped about Democracy are Justice, Equality, Fraternity, Freedom of Thought, Opportunity, Suffrage, International Faith and Peace.

Justice hears the scales as symbols of her office. Equality wears a Grecian robe.

Fraternity comes with outstretched hand wearing on his garment links of gold, symbolizing Universal Brotherhood.

Freedom of Thought wears a short tunic, with Mercury wings on his head.

Opportunity wears the golden hue of her brightest moment.

*Suffrage comes in pure white.
International Faith wears colors of the Allied Na-
tions both in flags and uniform.
Peace wears white and carries the dove and olive
branch.*

DEMOCRACY

I follow in the wake of arms
And wrest from proud and haughty power
The rights for which men die.
On Runnymede and Marston Moor
At Waterloo and Bunker Hill
My standard lifted high.
O'er Sunny France and Flanders plains
I set again your stars of hope
'Neath God's eternal sky.

AUTOCRACY

Who are these that follow thee—these strangers to
my eye?

DEMOCRACY (*as the names are called, each child
of Democracy comes forward with an appro-
priate swing and gesture, and on catching sight
of Autocracy each retires cringing and shrink-
ing with averted gaze*)

They are my children whom thou canst not know.
JUSTICE whom thou hast cried to thee in vain,
EQUALITY whom thou hast scorned,
FRATERNITY whom thou hast scourged,
FREEDOM OF THOUGHT whom thou hast
shackled,
OPPORTUNITY whom thou hast fled thy presence,
SUFFRAGE whom thou hast denied,
INTERNATIONAL FAITH whom thou hast
broken on the wheel,
PEACE whom thou hast crucified.

*The nations and refugees in the background clap
their hands and cry, "Hail, Democracy, hail! hail!"*

AMERICA

My mission is to find all downtrodden people free
And make an anxious world safe for Democracy.
In her name I bid you go.

*Death, War, etc., scourge Autocracy from the
stage, and the Dance of Victory comes on. The
groups remain in tableau as the audience joins in
"The Star-Spangled Banner."*

COMMUNICATION.

THE THYSEN PAMPHLET A FORGERY.

Editor of THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK:

It seems a pity, when so much unquestionably genuine evidence exists in the revelations of Lichnowsky, Muchlon, Lerchenfeld, and others to prove the responsibility of Germany for the world war, that any credence should be placed in a document of so flimsy a character as the alleged Thyssen pamphlet, noticed in your December issue.

This pamphlet purports to be written by August Thyssen, one of Germany's greatest iron manufacturers, and secretly printed in Germany. The German Emperor is represented as resolving on war as early as 1912, from a conviction that

continued peace meant the break-up of the military system, which in turn carried with it the ending of the power of the Hohenzollerns. To get the support of the commercial community, meetings of business men were held, at three of which—in Berlin, Munich and Cassel, in 1912 and 1913—the Emperor is represented as being present in person and making glowing promises. As a result, "the majority of business and commercial men agreed to support the Hohenzollern war plans," and they are even represented as disposing of the hide of the bear (or lion, in this case) beforehand by picking out the particular estates, etc., in Great Britain which each was to receive. The pretence is made that Thyssen writes these revelations because of the "black-mailings" by the German Government of men who, when war actually came, "refused to pay any more money into the Hohenzollern war chest."

The authenticity of this pamphlet is more than doubtful. So far as is known to our State Department, it first appeared as an article in the Glasgow (Scotland) *Post* for August 5 and 12, 1917, and was reported to our Government by the American consul at that place. The editor explained the publication by saying: "A copy of the pamphlet came into the hands of a client of the well-known lady detective, Miss Maude West. Some little time ago the former was at Cassel [Germany], where the pamphlet was printed. He saw a copy of it at the house of a friend, who allowed him to make a translation of it." Following its publication in Glasgow, it was printed in an English paper in Kobe, Japan. Since then it has several times been reprinted in this country and widely circulated.

The contents of the pamphlet in themselves arouse suspicion, which is not allayed by the dubious explanation of the manner in which it was obtained. It is significant that the German text of the pamphlet has never been produced in evidence, nor has any earlier source for it than the Glasgow *Post* been discovered. The best authorities in Great Britain as well as in this country doubt the pamphlet's genuineness. It may be added that Herr Thyssen himself denied the genuineness of the pamphlet in the *Hamburger Nachrichten* for July 20, 1918, and that it has been loudly denounced in Germany as a clumsy forgery of the Allies.

There can be no question but that, as I said in an outline of the war published in your magazine a year ago, "Before June 28, 1914, Germany willed if not war, at least another trial of diplomatic strength in which the threat of war should enter as a decisive factor." Why weaken the overwhelming strength of our case by relying on evidence of such questionable character as that afforded by the so-called Thyssen pamphlet?

SAMUEL B. HARDING.

Washington, D. C., December 16, 1918.

BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY PROFESSOR WAYLAND J. CHASE,
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

CHAPIN, F. STUART. *An Historical Introduction to Social Economy*. New York: The Century Co., 1917. Pp. xi, 316. \$2.00.

In the preface the author states that the work treats of "certain experiences in the lives of the people in Greek, Roman, medieval and modern times. It is designed for the use of the beginning student and the general reader." Realizing the vastness of the undertaking, Doctor Chapin makes no pretence at an attempt to enrich the literature of the subject by an original contribution, but has drawn his material from the well known secondary writers. He also dis-

claims any attempt to write "a complete history of social development or a detailed account of the evolution of industry. The book consists merely of a series of brief essays on the contrasting types of industrial organization which have existed at different historical periods, and an account of the private and public efforts made to relieve the poverty of the period," hence the book is designed as "an introduction to the study of industrial and social history."

The volume consists of five parts divided into eighteen chapters. Part I, the "Greek Period," covers forty pages. Part II, the "Roman Period," receives a seventy page treatment, and from some points of view, is the best part of the work. "Industrial Development at the End of the Middle Ages," in four chapters, totalling thirty pages, constitutes Part III. Many readers would welcome a fuller treatment of this interesting period. Part IV, "Great Social Revolutions of Modern Times," receives 115 pages, while the last part of the book consists of a forty-three-page discussion of "Transition from Remedial to Constructive Charity and Preventive Philanthropy." Deducting for the thirty-four illustrations and the several blank pages (between parts) some 250 pages of text remain. In the judgment of the reviewer this is too little to try to cover so wide a field. He feels confident that the title and the field would justify a volume of twice the size. As it is, some of the chapters have the appearance of undue brevity, and the value of the work as a whole suffers somewhat from condensations and omissions which at times leave the reader rather hazy as to the continuity of the narrative.

The book is well written and in a style that is very readable. A bibliography for each part of the work refers the student to the most accessible works in English. A rather complete index is given. The high school teacher of the social sciences will find much material in this book by means of which the various courses may be enriched.

Monmouth College. D. C. SHILLING.

WEBSTER, HUTTON. *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*. New York: D. C. Heath & Co., 1917. Pp. x, 388. \$1.25, net.

This volume differs from the usual source book in several respects. Each chapter presents but one topic or character, and contains extracts from but one writer. The passages are, as a rule, of sufficient length to give a clear notion of the subject treated. Official documents such as charters and laws are conspicuously absent. Practically all of the material is of a narrative, biographical, or descriptive character.

The wide variety of topics included will appear from these chapter headings: "Stories of the Lombard Kings," "The Benedictine Rule," "The Teachings of Mohammed," "The Saga of a Viking," "St. Francis and the Franciscans," "St. Louis," "Memoirs of a French Courtier," "Medieval Tales," "A Scholar of the Renaissance," "The Travels of Marco Polo," "The Aborigines of the New World," "England in the Age of Elizabeth," "Oliver Cromwell," "The Aborigines of the Pacific," "Scenes of the French Revolution," "Diplomacy of the Great War." The fact that only two chapters out of thirty-five are devoted to topics that lie within the last one hundred years is to be regretted.

The extracts included are concrete, vivid, fascinating; he is a dull pupil whose interest in history will not be awakened or stimulated by such material. Each selection is furnished with an introduction and sufficient footnotes to make the passage understandable. With the exception of a pronouncing vocabulary, the book contains no pedagogical aids.

Unlike many works of the same general character, this book is highly teachable and wholly usable. Especially commendable are the few cases in which parallel accounts are given in consecutive chapters; in these the same topic is treated by different writers. For example, in one chapter Napoleon is presented as he appears in his despatches, proclamations, army orders, and correspondence; in the next, he is described in the words of Prince Matternich. The skilful teacher will find in such material an opportunity for practical exercises in historical method well within the intellectual powers of high school pupils.

All in all, this work is first-class. It will easily rank as one of the best in its field.

HOWARD C. HILL.

University of Chicago High School.

PETRUNKEVITCH, ALEXANDER; HARPER, SAMUEL NORTHROP; AND GOLDER, FRANK ALFRED. *The Russian Revolution*. KERNER, ROBERT JOSEPH. *The Jugo-Slav Movement*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918. Pp. 109. \$1.00.

Material upon the Russian Revolution is scarce; good material is much scarcer. The little book whose title appears above is one of the few volumes which, small as it is, ought to be put into the library of any large school, despite its opportunist character. It contains the Russian Revolution from three sides, Mr. Petrunkevitch giving the part of the so-called intellectuals, Mr. Harper endeavoring to show the influence of each group of revolutionaries in achieving the results so far attained, and Mr. Golder describing what he saw—the conditions at the time that the Revolution actually broke out in March, 1917. Possibly each of these three has overemphasized somewhat the parties, forces and events with which he actually became acquainted, but in this respect the three taken together, largely neutralize each other. The papers are all readable, all scholarly, and all worthy of careful reading by any student of recent European history. They cannot claim to be the last word upon the subject of the Russian Revolution, but they are among the sanest words that have come to us. Mr. Kerner's story of the Jugo-Slav movement is perhaps even more important for the general reader and for the student. Jugo-Slavia as an issue of the war with which we are concerned has been little understood. Mr. Kerner helps us to understand it. It is good reading for either high school or university students. Upon many of the points made by these four papers students of Russia and the Slavs will differ. But criticisms of the four would largely be on matters of opinion rather than upon questions of fact.

Tufts College.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

BLUMENTHAL, DANIEL. *Alsace-Lorraine*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917. Pp. 60. 75 cents.

The author of this booklet is a prominent Alsatian. He has been a deputy from Strasburg in the Reichstag, a member of the Alsace-Lorraine Landtag in the upper house, and mayor of the city of Colmar. Early in the war, he escaped into Switzerland, and thence made his way to the United States. As a distinguished representative of his native province and an undaunted opponent of Germany's persistent effort to crush Alsatian spirit by destroying Alsatian liberty, he is certain to receive a sympathetic hearing from American readers. He calls his book "a study of the relations of the two provinces to France and to Germany, and a presentation of the just claims of their people." The second part of the statement indicates its character better

than the first. As an historical narrative it is distinctly less satisfactory than as an impassioned protest. Nothing is gained by omitting all reference to Richelieu and Louis XIV in the account of how the provinces came under French control. To say that "Strasbourg, which had remained a free independent city, opened her gates to France in 1681" (page 14) is at least misleading. It is far better to stand frankly on the ground elsewhere taken: "In the main, it matters little to whom Alsace-Lorraine has belonged during the vicissitudes of history. That only which is important from the point of view of modern history is the act of 1871 by which Germany tore Alsace-Lorraine from France when all the inhabitants of the ceded territories were thoroughly French and wished so to remain" (page 11). The matter could not be more admirably stated. The author furnishes ample evidence that the statement is true. He assures us that in spite of German terrorism and of the lapse of time, the mind of his people has not since changed.

Goucher College.

EUGENE N. CURTIS.

HUMPHREY, GRACE. *Illinois: The Story of the Prairie State*. Indianapolis: Bobbs, Merrill Co., 1917. Pp. 267. \$1.25.

This interesting little volume tells the story of Illinois in a simple easy-going style and in non-technical language, thus making it possible to appeal to a wide reading public. The reviewer assumes that the book was written primarily for use in the public schools and the general reader rather than for the critical historian.

Of the twenty-seven chapters, the first ten treat the period prior to statehood, and is the best part of the book from an historical point of view. Several chapters deal with episodes connected with the history of Illinois, e. g., "A Distinguished Guest" (Lafayette), "The Alton Tragedy," "The Code of Honor" and "A Sad Home-Coming" (Lincoln's funeral). In the table of contents there are two sections headed respectively, "Notes" and "Maps," but what is found in the book is a brief bibliography arranged for each chapter, and one page of questions and suggestions for map work. Several photographic illustrations are inserted and a list of questions based upon each chapter is given as a sort of an appendix.

This volume, while substantially accurate both in statement and emphasis, does not prevent the writing of a more serious volume in which state and national issues are integrated and a broader perspective is held up to view. However, this little book should be read by all the school children of the state as well as by adults who want to know the elements of the history of Illinois. It will have performed its mission if it creates a desire for the further study of the forces which have made the present Illinois.

Monmouth College.

D. C. SHILLING.

SCHAPIRO, J. S. *Modern and Contemporary European History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918. Pp. 804. \$3.00.

It is no small tribute to this work of Professor Schapiro to say that it will almost certainly find its place beside such fine productions as those of Professors Robinson and Beard, Hazen and Hayes.

Professor Schapiro's volume has much in common with these earlier works. They all are alive to the trend of recent historical thought in emphasizing the social and economic factors in modern history. But there is much that is unique in Professor Schapiro's work. For example, he has included brief but illuminating accounts of the most im-

portant figures in the literature of each of the European nations. As the author well says, it seems anomalous that second and third rate politicians should find a place in a history of the nineteenth century, while literary men of the first order are not mentioned. Other unusual features in a work of this size are found in chapters dealing with the labor and woman's movement, the agricultural revolution in England and the excellent accounts of the social legislation in England, France and Germany.

Starting with a brief summary of the heritage of the French Revolution, the author traces the history of each of the European states, centering the story about the three great movements of the nineteenth century, the growth of democracy, the development of nationalism and the industrial revolution. Coming to the close of the nineteenth century there is an excellent treatment of the international relations of the great European states, which provides a background for the concluding chapter on the World War. The author shows a firm grasp of the great underlying causes of the world conflict, and gives a brief but clear account of the chief military operations down to the summer of 1918.

While written primarily as a college text-book, this work will doubtless find a wide circle of readers among the general public. The author's style is clear and forceful.

Taken all in all, Professor Schapiro's book is perhaps the best single volume treatment of the history of recent times that has yet appeared.

NELSON P. MEAD.

ROTHSCHILD, ALONZO. "Honest Abe," a Study Based on the Early Life of Abraham Lincoln. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1917. Pp. 374. \$2.00.

From the tribute of the father by the son found on pages 285-306, it appears that the late Alonzo Rothschild intended the present volume to be the second in a "cycle of works" designed to treat Lincoln's character "from all angles." There are five chapters: I, "Pinching Times;" II, "Truth in the Law;" III, "Professional Ethics;" IV, "Dollars and Cents;" V, "Honesty in Politics."

The author did a splendid piece of work in his first book, "Lincoln, Master of Men" (1906). There he presents in separate chapters how Lincoln mastered and managed thereafter the different members of his cabinet. That book is still unique and distinctly creditable to its author. One cannot help but feel in reading this second book that in it the author has met with no such decided success. The third and fifth chapters are unquestionably of the most interest. Even these weary one who has already read considerable about Lincoln and can find little here not known before. Tiresome becomes the reading of the various scraps and recollections of Lincoln's early career to one who fails to see organization in this claimed study in integrity. Were the book arranged under proper titles as a collection of anecdotes and sidelights on Lincoln's early life, the work would be more useful. The author's apparent love for the Lincoln of national greatness has clearly idealized the earlier Lincoln who had not yet arrived, however admirable he was as a man among men of the Illinois frontier. Amusing seems the persistency with which the author on pages 212 to 244 narrates correctly Lincoln's association with the "Long Nine" in Illinois politics, yet maintains Lincoln's persistent disapproval of the tactics of his associates whom he led. Unquestionably honesty was an inherent element of Lincoln's character. He was, however, the representative of a pioneer section to which spoils politics was indigenous.

From the full notes on the references sustaining the incidents cited in the body of the book, one gleams many a worth-while tidbit. A list of books on Lincoln is also furnished which may prove convenient to many. While accurate in its facts, the book cannot be said to be a notable contribution to interpretative historical literature.

Beloit College.

ROYAL BRUNSON WAY.

HUGHES, DOROTHY. *Illustrations of Chaucer's England*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1918. Pp. xiv, 302. \$2.50.

This is a collection of source material primarily designed to illuminate Chaucer's times for readers of his works. The chronicles principally quoted are Adam of Murimuth, Robert of Avesbury, Geoffrey le Baker of Swinbrook, Henry of Knighton, Walter of Hemingburgh, Thomas Walsingham, Jean Froissart, and Jean le Bel. The selections have been so chosen and grouped as to throw light on "The French War," "Social History," "Ecclesiastical Affairs," and "Political and Constitutional History." This volume is the first to appear of a series of intermediate source books published under the direction of Professor Pollard, of the University of London.

YOUNG, FRANCIS BRETT. *Marching on Tanga*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1917. Pp. 265. \$1.50.

Tanga is in German East Africa, and the author was a captain who served in the British campaign under General Smuts. The reader gets from the stirringly told tale both vivid impressions of bush and jungle fighting, and descriptions of this wild country, its native peoples, and its fauna and flora. So both he who likes in his reading to explore little-known lands and he whom tales of war attract will find zest in this book.

Ten illustrations from the author's photographs and a map are supplied.

MARTIN, EDWARD S. *The Diary of a Nation. The War and How We Got Into It*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1918. Pp. xii, 405. \$1.50.

All who read *Life* know the sane and shrewd editorials which Mr. Martin writes for it. It is extracts from these which make up this book and furnish a running commentary upon the progress of the war during its first three years. Here one sees revealed our nation's moods of sympathy, indignation, hot wrath, and high resolve, as Germany's war policy revealed itself and finally brought us into the great conflict. Mr. Martin's characterizations of public men are always vigorous, never equivocal or ambiguous, and they sparkle with wit and wisdom.

CRAM, RALPH ADAMS. *The Substance of Gothic*. Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1918. Pp. 200. \$1.50.

These are six lectures on the development of architecture from Charlemagne's time to the sixteenth century which were originally delivered at the Lowell Institute, Boston. The author is enamored of the Middle Ages, and his references to them are passionate and rapturous. To him they seem the good old times while the present age seems "the return of Paganism in society and morals." It is these times that Gothic architecture expresses, and it is with the times that the book deals, namely, the sources, formative conditions and environment out of which it developed. He writes of this period not only with fervor, but with understanding as well, and again and again with eloquence, as when he describes the splendors of the cathedral of Chartres which he declares to be the noblest work of Gothic art.

BOOKS ON HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES FROM OCTOBER 26 TO NOVEMBER 30, 1918.

LISTED BY CHARLES A. COULOMB, PH.D.

AMERICAN HISTORY.

- Collins, Winfield H. *The truth about lynching and the negro in the south*. N. Y.: Neale Pub. Co. 163 pp. \$1.25, net.
- Faris, J. T. *Historic Shrines of America*. N. Y.: Doran. 421 pp. \$3.00, net.
- Faris, J. T. *The Romance of old Philadelphia*. Phila.: Lippincott. 336 pp. \$4.50, net.
- Farrand, Max. *The development of the United States from colonies to a world power*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 355 pp. \$1.50, net.
- Johnson, Allen, editor. *The chronicles of America; a series of historical narratives*. 50 vols. New Haven: Yale Univ. \$175.00.
- Lowrey, Lawrence T. *Northern opinion of approaching secession, October, 1859, to November, 1860*. Northampton, Mass.: Smith College. 192-257 pp. 50 cents.
- McDougale, Ivan E. *Slavery in Kentucky, 1792-1865*. Wash., D. C.: C. G. Woodson, 1216 U St., N. W. 125 pp. 6 1-3 pp. bibls.). \$1.10.
- Porter, Kirk H. *A History of Suffrage in the United States*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago. 260 pp. \$1.25, net.
- Powers, Harry H. *America and Britain; the story of the relations between the two peoples*. N. Y.: Macmillan. 76 pp. 40 cents.
- Teakle, Thomas. *The Spirit Lake Massacre [Northwestern Iowa, 1857]*. Iowa City, Ia.: State Hist. Soc. 336 pp. \$2.50.
- Usher, Roland G. *The pilgrims and their history*. N. Y.: Macmillan. 310 pp. \$2.00, net.
- White, Stewart E. *The Forty-niners*. New Haven: Yale Univ. 273 pp. \$3.50, net.
- Woodburn, J. A., and Moran, T. F. *Elementary American History and Government [with Pennsylvania supplement]*. N. Y.: Longmans. \$1.12, special net.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

- Columbia Univ. *Studies in history, etc.* Vol. 81. Part I. *Social and private life at Rome in the time of Plautus and Terence*. N. Y.: Longmans. \$4.50, special net.
- Paton, David. *Egyptian records of travel in Western Asia*. Vol. 3, in two parts. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton Univ. Press. 102 pp. \$15.00, net.
- Xenophon. *Hellenica*, Bks. 1-5 [Loeb Classical Library]. N. Y.: Putnam. 493 pp. \$1.80, net.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

- Knowles, Sir Lees. *The British in Capri, 1806-1808*. N. Y.: J. Lane. 330 pp. \$5.00, net.

EUROPEAN HISTORY.

- Bryant, Louise. *Six red months in Russia*. N. Y.: Doran. 299 pp. \$2.00, net.
- Chapman, C. E. *The history of Spain*. N. Y.: Macmillan. 559 pp. (11 pp. bibls.). \$2.60, net.
- Gordon, Winifred. *Roumania, yesterday and today*. N. Y.: J. Lane. 270 pp. \$3.00, net.
- Putnam, Ruth. *Luxemburg and her neighbors*. N. Y.: Putnam. 484 pp. \$2.50, net.
- Schelking, Eugene de. *Recollections of a Russian diplomat*. N. Y.: Macmillan. 327 pp. \$2.50, net.
- Waring, L. F. *Serbia*. N. Y.: Holt. 256 pp. 75 cents.
- Williams, Oscar H. *Syllabus of European History to accompany Harding's "New Medieval and Modern History"*. N. Y. and Cin.: Am. Book Co. 97 pp. 40 cents.

THE GREAT WAR.

- Allen, W. H., and Kleiser, Clare, compilers. *Stories of Americans in the World War*. N. Y.: Institute for Public Service, 51 Chambers St. 176 pp. 75 cents.
- Coulomb, Charles A. [and others]. *Outline of an emergency course of instruction on the war*. Bu. of Education, Teachers' Leaflet No. 4. Wash., D. C.: Gov. Pr. Off. 31 pp.
- Egan, Eleanor F. *The war in the cradle of the world, Mesopotamia*. N. Y.: Harper. 371 pp. \$2.00, net.
- Entente Cordiale; from the letters of Lt. Henri G—. Boston: G. H. Ellis Co. 94 pp. \$1.00, net.
- Garner, James W. *The German War Code; a comparison of the German manual of the laws of war with those of the United States, Great Britain and France, and with the Hague convention*. Urbana, Ill.: Univ. of Ill. 34 pp.
- Gauss, Christian F. *Why We Went to War*. N. Y.: Scribner. 386 pp. \$1.50, net.
- Lake, Lt. Harned. *Campaigning in the Balkans*. N. Y.: McBride. 228 pp. \$1.50, net.
- Lie (The), of the 3rd of August, 1914. N. Y.: Doran. 350 pp. \$1.75, net.
- McMaster, John Bach. *The United States in the World War*. N. Y.: Appleton. 485 pp. \$3.00, net.
- Manwaring, G. B. *If we return; letters of a soldier of Kitchener's army*. N. Y.: J. Lane. 165 pp. \$1.25, net.
- Massart, Jean. *The secret press in Belgium*. N. Y.: Dutton. 96 pp. \$1.50, net.
- Morgenthau, Henry. *Ambassador Morgenthau's story*. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday Page. 407 pp. \$2.00, net.
- Raemaekers, Louis. *America in the War [Cartoons]*. N. Y.: Century Co. 207 pp. \$5.00, net.
- Rice, Philip S. *An American crusader at Verdun*. Princeton, N. J.: The author. 103 pp. \$1.25, net.
- Rihbany, Abraham M. *America, save the near east*. Boston: Beacon Press. 164 pp. \$1.00, net.
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- Russell Sage Foundation Library. *Reconstruction [a bibliography]*. N. Y.: The foundation. 4 pp.
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Economic Mobilization of the United States for the War of 1917¹

1. PRE-WAR INDUSTRY AND PREPAREDNESS.

The period immediately preceding the declaration of a state of war with Germany (April 6, 1917) is divided sharply into two phases by the letter addressed July 21, 1915, by the President of the United States to the secretaries of war and navy and calling upon them to prepare adequate programs for national defense. Before this date lies a period of far-reaching economic legislation and of confusing propaganda and counter propaganda upon preparedness. After this date there begins a period of conscious preparation for the struggle with the Central Powers. The stages in pre-war economic mobilization tend to divide at this date, with civil organization predominating before and military preparation after.

The Government of the United States, in 1915, touched business at numerous points in the course of its ordinary routine. The old theory of the Federal Government whereby business and industry were strictly local, and interstate commerce had a meaning restricted to trade in its act of crossing state lines, had yielded in detail to the pressure of industrial society and its needs. The Interstate Commerce Commission (1887) had marked an epoch in industrial history, based as it was upon the conviction that state regulation could no longer be adequate to the needs of national communication. Contemporary with this the activities of the Department of Agriculture (1889) and those of the old Bureau of Labor (1884) had touched and served the life of individuals in numerous ways. Without great powers to control, these agencies had displayed to the public eye problems that had only to be seen to be attacked, and had paved the way for more searching powers in later years.

With the creation of a cabinet department of Commerce and Labor (1903), the next stage of economic interference or control opens. Preceded by the investigations of the Industrial Commission (1898) and accompanied by keen public interest in the episodes of business, this new department had to cope with conscious labor and aggressive capital. The Interstate Commerce law was revised. Public inspections of food were made more rigorous. Public works at Panama and in the arid regions revealed the United States Government as builder and employer. The Bureau of Mines and the Forest Service asserted a national interest not only in the resources of America, but in the conservation of Americans. A steady expansion of governmental functions as well as continuous elaboration of functions already in operation

changed, enlarged, and professionalized national government. When in 1913 the Federal Reserve Board was created to control national finance, and the currency, and in 1914 the Federal Trade Commission was created, the steps involved were only the normal next-steps in a process long under way. Commerce and Labor were separated as independent departments, and in these as in other branches, the accumulation of statistical knowledge and its progressive study developed the clear presentation of national problems whose very existence would have been denied three decades earlier.

The advent of the European War in 1914 found the United States equipped with the basic peace legislation of a modern state. None of it was perfect, parts were notably insufficient, other parts were new and not yet in operation; but capital and labor, transportation, finance and industry and agriculture were all in some sort of recognized relation to the government. And the old idea was gone that the life of the individual citizen was to be untouched by direct national control.

New elements of national organization were emphasized by the European War. A train of reflections upon military strength and national defense revealed the weakness of the United States. There was controversy over the condition of the Navy based upon differing views of its strength and capacity. There was no controversy over the Army; here instead the debate was over the question, shall there be an Army, and how shall it be raised? In both cases the strictly military elements tended to obscure the economic factors that precede all military power. Only a few Americans, in the days of the preparedness debate, took serious counsel over the elements of national industry and their capacity to be mobilized in the event of war. The basic organs for peace economies existed, at least in the statute books, but there was nothing there for war.

The call of the President for a program for national defense directed official action into the channels disturbed by the preparedness debate. In the course of time there emerged the national defense act (June 3, 1916), and the naval appropriation bill looking toward a great five-year program (August 29, 1916). Attached to the latter was a group of sections directing the creation of a Council of National Defense.

Before the Council of National Defense was created a step looking in the same direction had been taken out of the Naval Consulting Board. This board, assembled in October, 1915, on call of the Secretary of the Navy, was composed of notable civilians whose scientific and trade affiliations seemed to fit them to act as a board on inventions, to pass upon stages in the naval program. An Industrial

¹A preliminary memorandum prepared at the request of the Central Bureau of Planning and Statistics by the Economic Mobilization Section, Historical Branch, War Plans Division, General Staff, War Department.

Preparedness Committee appointed by this Board undertook a survey of existing facilities for munitions manufacture during 1916, and gathered into its New York office data from over 18,000 industrial plants. The data thus collected, based on questionnaires and more or less digested by various engineers who used it, constituted one of the earliest steps taken in actual industrial mobilization. The Industrial Preparedness Committee was later transferred to the Council of National Defense while its program was merged in that of the War Industries Board.

The steps urged by the national administration to place the United States in a condition for defense were only partly taken when war itself arrived. The national defense and Navy acts were only on paper. The Council of National Defense was as yet unorganized. The shipping act, which had been urged consistently since 1914, was only just ready to be put into operation. In February, 1917, the rupture with Germany gave new impetus to the speedy organization of these untried tools of the Government, and inspired the devising of yet further tools to facilitate the mobilization behind the armed forces of the nation of food and fuel, of shipping and transportation, of finance and trade.

II. COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE.

The Council of National Defense during the first months of war, undertook much of the work of economic mobilization. In the prosecution of its numerous and constantly changing activities it bridged the period between the declaration of war and the creation of proper agencies for the economic prosecution of the war. It may be thought of as a laboratory in which ideas were tested, problems solved, and in which knowledge and experience was gained in the building up of the war emergency machine. The Council was created by act of Congress, August 29, 1916, to consist of the Secretaries of War, Navy, Agriculture, Interior, Commerce, and Labor, and was assisted by an Advisory Commission of seven civilians. It did not complete its preliminary organization until a month after the breaking of diplomatic relations with Germany.

The first work of the Council and Commission was the consideration of plans for industrial mobilization and the gathering of detailed knowledge of the industrial resources of the country which should be available for the use of all agencies of the Government and upon which comprehensive plans could be based. For this purpose each of the seven members of the Advisory Commission, was appointed chairman of a committee in charge of some special field in which he possessed special knowledge. These seven fields were: munition, supplies, raw materials, transportation, engineering and education, medicine, and labor. Prominent business, industrial, and professional men were placed upon these committees, and others were from time to time called upon to place at the disposal of the Council their valuable technical knowledge. At a later date committees for each particular business or industry were appointed sub-

committees or co-operative committees of the Advisory Commission in order that they might more readily be available for co-operation with the Council and its various subordinate bodies, and in order that their particular industries, etc., might more easily and efficiently be mobilized. The close co-operation thus established between the Government and business was one of the Council's chief contributions to the winning of the war. The following were the more important among the Commission's activities:

A. At the call of the Committee on Transportation the railroad presidents met in Washington and organized an executive committee which acted as a co-operative committee of the Council of National Defense. The purpose and result was to co-ordinate the numerous railroad systems so that, acting as one system, the rapid movements and mobilization of troops might be carried out, freight cars distributed wherever needed, and the movement of freight expedited in every possible way.

B. The Automotive Transport Committee, in co-operation with the War Department and manufacturers, aided in the working out of specifications for standard motor trucks and military motorcycles. It also took an exhaustive inventory of the automotive manufacturing facilities of the country.

C. The Aircraft Production Board took under consideration the organization of a program for furnishing large numbers of airplanes to the army. It was instrumental in securing the working out of specifications for the Liberty Motor. It urged upon the country and upon Congress the appropriation of a large sum of money for the production of airplanes and the creation of a special department of the signal corps for this purpose.

D. An Emergency Construction Committee considered the problem raised by the need for cantonments, and advised the proper authorities as to ways and means for construction.

E. The Commercial Economy Board sought to secure by voluntary co-operation the conservation of food and material, and the elimination of waste.

F. The Committee on Coal Production endeavored to increase the output of coal at the mines, and in co-operation with the Raw Materials Committee and the Committee on Transportation to accelerate the movement of coal to points of greatest need. In co-operation with the Labor Committee it worked to prevent labor difficulties which would decrease production. It secured from coal operators an agreement fixing a maximum price on coal for both government and private consumption.

During the early period of the war the Council of National Defense aided the War and Navy Departments in procurement of supplies and raw materials. This work was done chiefly by the General Munitions Board, the Committee on Supplies, and the Committee on Raw Materials. They advised the purchasing departments as to how and where contracts could most advantageously be placed. In this work they were aided by the co-operative committees of

industry of the Advisory Commission. The activities of these committees consisted in furnishing information regarding industrial resources, manufacturing capacities, means of increasing production, and the possibility of converting existing facilities to war work; in assisting in accelerating output and securing for the Government preferential services in production and delivery; in negotiating price agreements between producers and the Government; and in advising upon contracts.

Although the power of these committees was strictly advisory, in so far as they related to contracts, their advice was regularly accepted by the purchasing authorities so that their influence in the placing of contracts and the distribution of orders was very real. In exercising this authority they necessarily negotiated contracts with firms with which their members were connected or financially interested. The possibility that this situation might be abused and the complaints of some of those who had failed to obtain contracts led to considerable criticism of the co-operative committees, and the incorporation in the food and fuel control act (August 10, 1917) of a section designed to prevent the misuse of authority by these committees.

As interpreted by the Attorney General, Section 3 of this act did not prohibit service upon the co-operative committees to officers and stockholders of corporations having contractual relations with the Government. It did provide, however, that every member of a committee making recommendations regarding contracts should make a written disclosure of his interest in the contract not only to his committee, but also to all bodies receiving his or his committee's report, and that this disclosure should be made even though the interested member had taken no part in the deliberations of his committee regarding the contract. These formalities were so restricting that the members of the committees severed their connection with the Advisory Commission. At the time of this dissolution, however, new agencies for the performance of their work had been created, or were soon after created. War Service Committees formed by the representatives only of the several industries themselves, in co-operation with the newly-formed War Industries Board replaced the co-operative committees.

In none of its work did the Council, the Advisory Commission, or the subordinate bodies of each, act in any but an advisory capacity to the government, or to industry and business. The activities of the Council constituted important preliminary work, but with the creation of new agencies its usefulness declined. Many of its functions were taken over by the Food and Fuel Administrations, the Aircraft Production Board, the Railroad Administration, the War Labor Board, and the Labor Policies Board, etc. Its own subordinate body, the War Industries Board created in July, 1917, absorbed the functions of the Committee on Supplies, the Committee on Raw Materials, the Commercial Economy Board, the General Munitions Board, and in addition

developed new functions until by the winter of 1917-18 it dominated the Council, and finally became independent of it.

The functions of the Council as a co-ordinator of effort remained. Its State Councils Section and its Woman's Committee (merged on September 19, 1918, into its Field Division) continued to be a clearing house for civic enterprises in war and reconstruction.

III. SHIPPING.

There was vagueness in the public mind as to some of the first steps to be taken along the road from peace to mobilization for war. The earliest activities of the Council of National Defense reveal uncertainties and conflicts of opinion as to ways and means; for there were no precedents to guide, and only inexperienced men fresh from their private affairs to direct the transitions that must be made. In more than one instance the earliest steps had to be retraced before the most useful routes were found. But there was no doubt as to the prime importance in the war of food and ships. Food—for there was danger that starvation might defeat our allies, ships—for the successes of the submarine reached a crest in the first quarter of indiscriminate and unrestrained sinkings of merchant ships. Whatever else was to be done, there must be provision for multiplying tonnage and for conserving food if we were to win the war. The newly organized United States Shipping Board was the obvious tool for the former of these tasks.

A measure creating a United States Shipping Board was before Congress, in one shape or another, from 1914 until its passage on September 7, 1916. The early request of the President for funds and power to build and operate a fleet of merchant vessels was granted only in time to have the organization of the Shipping Board finished as the war broke; with the whole question of marine policy still to be worked out in the confusion prevalent in the early weeks of war. By presidential proclamations, from time to time, the Shipping Board found its powers enlarged to cover the whole field of shipping. Its organization was completed January 30, 1917; on February 5, it received control of all shipping registered in the United States; the German ships were handed over to it; in June it received power to requisition any American vessels, and a little later it took over the completion of all ships building in American yards on private or allied account.

In February and March the Shipping Board built up its office force, and reached a decision which in April gave rise to the incorporation of the government-owned Emergency Fleet Corporation and to the announcement of a policy of building wooden ships for emergency use. The idea of a "bridge of wooden ships" caught the public imagination and tended to obscure its view of the real fact that all steel shipyards were intended to be worked to maximum capacity, and that wooden shipyards were to supplement rather than supplant them.

In April and May the Divisions of Steel Ship

Construction and Wood Ship Construction began their search for old yards that could be enlarged, new yards that could be driven to greater capacity than had been hitherto called for, and available sites at which the great bridge and construction companies could establish new plants for the emergency. The engineers and designers of the Emergency Fleet Corporation produced plans for standardized wood and steel cargo ships, with the idea of utilizing all the economies obtainable. The principle of fabrication was adopted, by which local steel mills instead of furnishing only the plates to be worked at the shipyards, shaped and punched and fabricated whole sections of a ship, so that the shipyards tended to become assembling rather than construction plants.

The concrete ships entered into the contest for favor in the summer. The obvious novelty and simplicity of this type led to an enlargement of the Fleet Corporation policy to include it. But before this had gone far, the demand for construction materials had exhausted the supply in sight; existing building was regulated by strict systems of priority; and the new type had to be neglected in favor of the completion of the earlier program.

Through the autumn of 1917 the shipbuilding policy expanded. Keels already laid were finished, launched and outfitted. New yards cleared and drained their swamps, built their ways, and laid their initial keels. At Hog Island the great government plant brought a flourishing city into existence. The race between new tonnage and submarine losses was used as basic material in an advertising campaign to attract labor where needed, and to keep it on the job. And as the spring of 1918 advanced the added needs for the movement of troops to the A. E. F. made it easier to keep up the drive on the construction end of shipping.

While the Emergency Fleet Corporation was devising, revising and pushing its tasks of physical construction, the Shipping Board was considering the theory of management of the American merchant fleet. It had early recognized the need for maritime intelligence to serve as a basis for policy decisions. In May, 1917, it had created a Division of Maritime Intelligence to study the facts of coastwise and foreign trade. Through the derangements brought about by war the value of pre-war statistics had been greatly lessened; and these had never been adequate, so far as the United States is concerned, to the foundation of a real policy.

The congestion and partial breakdown of the national transportation system in the winter of 1917-18, stimulated in many ways the attempts to formulate a policy. A Shipping Control Committee on February 11, 1918, took over the functions of an earlier committee of the Board with reference to questions of management and tonnage and prepared to allocate vessels under the Board's control to cargoes and trade routes. It was to work in cooperation with various American boards and with the Allied Maritime Transport Council. On the same day there was created a Division of Planning and

Statistics to study commodities of trade in their relation to tonnage, and to keep track of tonnage in use. The attempt was to be made to secure space not only through the building of new ships, but through the better use of existing bottoms, better methods of packing and storage and elimination of time lost in the turnaround. A Port and Harbors Facilities Commission was created on April 30, 1918, to work for greater effectiveness at the harbor end of the voyage.

At the termination of hostilities the Shipping Board was acquiring a steadily improving knowledge of the factors underlying the management of shipping. The Fleet Corporation was witnessing the fulfilment of its earlier plans, and was revising program as the result of its experience. Much of the commandeered tonnage was in use. The earliest of the ships fabricated to its designs or built in the wooden yards were in commission. The relative importance of steel and wood could be seen in the performance of yards much better than a year earlier, in anticipation of such performance. The misunderstandings and cross purposes, frequent so long as results were conjectural, were yielding before facts, and in many ways the program for 1919 was being altered from that of 1918.

At the yards themselves the management of labor had forced the Fleet Corporation to activities quasi-military and highly unusual among employers. Many of the largest plants were new. Laborers were recruited from the whole country and many trades. They had to be instructed, trained, and inspired. Houses and public utilities had to be built in the camps or towns that arose around the yards. There had to be schools for the children of workers and hospitals. In order to make the ships the Fleet Corporation could not evade making great social communities whose activities were novel to non-military enterprises. Demobilization involved not only the future of personnel, plants, and materials, but also the administration of the tonnage belonging to the United States.

IV. FOOD CONTROL.

The importance of assuring a sufficient supply of food to the United States forces and to the armies and civilian populations of the Allies was early in the war impressed upon the minds of the American people. The food situation, already demanding attention before the entrance of the United States into the war, emphasized the need for some measure of control to protect the people of this country. The purchases of the Allies had made serious drains upon the food supplies of the United States; there was fear of serious shortages; prices had advanced greatly; and in some cases there was profiteering, hoarding and speculation in foodstuffs. Between April 6 and May 17 retail prices of seventeen selected food commodities increased 23 per cent.

The question of food supplies and food distribution had been considered by the Council of National Defense immediately following the declaration of war, but no definite step was taken until on May 17 the

President called for the inauguration of a plan of volunteer food administration by the appointment of a Food Administrator.

The early work of the Food Administration was based entirely upon the principle of voluntary co-operation. By appeals to the patriotism of the farmer and the housewife, it endeavored to secure increased production of food crops and the saving of food products by careful economies.

Voluntary co-operation, although effective, was not sufficient to meet the needs of the situation. The food and fuel control act (August 10, 1917) gave to the President and through him to the Food Administration, the necessary authority for extensive control of the food of the country. The purpose of the act was to assure an adequate supply and equitable distribution, and to facilitate the movement of foods, feeds, fertilizer and fertilizer ingredients, agricultural machinery and implements, etc.; to prevent scarcity, monopolization, hoarding and injurious speculation in the same; and to establish and maintain government control of such necessities during the war.

For the above purposes the law prohibited, with respect to necessities, wasting, destroying, hoarding, limiting of production, restricting of supply or distribution, manipulation of supply, monopolizing, and exacting of excessive prices. It authorized the government to seize hoarded supplies, to requisition supplies for the Army and Navy, to buy and sell wheat, flour, meal and beans. It empowered the President to require licenses for the importation, manufacture, storage or distribution of food, feed, etc., which licenses might be revoked for unjust, unreasonable, discriminatory or wasteful storage, charge, commission, profit, or practice. The act exempted from its provisions farmers, co-operative associations of farmers, common carriers, and retailers whose gross sales did not exceed \$100,000 per annum.

The execution of the provisions of the act was delegated by the President, for the most part, to the Food Administration. The Food Administration Grain Corporation, with all of its stock owned by the Government, was organized to purchase and sell wheat, flour, meal and beans. By its purchases were made for the Army, the Navy, the Marine Corps, the Allies, the Red Cross and the Y. M. C. A.

It was by means of the license system that the Food Administration gradually extended its control more and more completely over the food supplies of the nation. The first proclamation by the President requiring that licenses be secured from the Food Administration was issued October 8. It affected (1) operators of cold storage warehouses; (2) operators of elevators and warehouses for the storage of various grains and grain products, and (3) importers, manufacturers and distributors of twenty important food products. Numerous other proclamations, the last being dated November 2, 1918, extended the license system to include manufacturers of bread and other bakery products, dealers in arsenic and insecticides containing arsenic, dealers in ammonia, manu-

facturers of feeds, brewers, canners, manufacturers of wheat and rye products, manufacturers and dealers in fertilizer and fertilizer ingredients, farm implements and machinery, etc.

With practically all those engaged in importing, manufacturing, storing, and distributing food, feed, fertilizers, etc., under license, the Food Administration was able to enforce its orders for the conservation and proper distribution of the necessities under its control, and to prevent the practices forbidden by the act of August 10. Offenders either lost their licenses, and hence their right to continue their businesses, or made liberal donations to the Red Cross and other war charities. While the retailer was not subject to license, refusal on his part to obey the requests of the Food Administration brought orders to the licensed wholesalers to discontinue furnishing him with supplies. Distribution to the consumer was controlled by rules for the retailer thus enforced. In the enforcement of its orders the Food Administration had also the co-operation of the Fuel and Railroad Administrations and the War Industries Board.

In the matter of prices, power was given the Food Administration by the President (November 27, 1917) to determine the reasonable normal profit prior to July 1, 1914; to indicate what margin over cost would return such a just, reasonable and fair profit; and to prohibit the taking of any greater profit. In co-operation with manufacturers and dealers the Food Administration worked out from time to time prices for flour, beef, cotton seed, and other products. In the case of some of these, the profits to be taken by both jobber and retailer were determined upon. The price, as well as the distribution of sugar, was controlled by the Sugar Emergency Board. The minimum price for the 1918 wheat crop was fixed by Congress at \$2.20 per bushel, and remained at this price despite strong efforts to increase it.

The two chief purposes of the Food Administration were (1) to protect the citizens of the United States from excessive prices due to hoarding, speculation and profiteering, and (2) to secure a surplus of food for the Allies and the armies of the United States. The fulfilment of the former purpose was secured by the license system and the enforcement of the Food Control Act. Efforts to secure the carrying out of the second were directed towards the stimulation of production, the reduction of consumption, and the elimination of waste.

During the first year of the Food Administration the dependence upon the voluntary spirit of co-operation was especially great. During the week of December 4-11, 1917, a campaign to secure the signatures of every housewife in the country to a card pledging conservation in the choice and use of foods was conducted. Propaganda for home gardens and increased production of foodstuffs, especially wheat, was instituted. The use of less sugar and wheat was urged. Consumers were asked to observe wheatless and meatless days.

In its campaign for conservation and increased pro-

duction, the Food Administration was assisted in reaching the people by the State Councils Section and the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, by the Four Minute Men and other agencies of the Committee on Public Information, and by its own local agencies through the State Food Administrators and State Educational Directors.

As the license system was developed, the Food Administration supplemented its appeals for voluntary co-operation in the conservation of food with the use of the machinery developed for the control of all those engaged in importing, manufacturing and distributing food. The amount of various food products that could be used by manufacturers and consumers was carefully regulated. Sugar, for instance, was carefully allotted by the Sugar Emergency Board, so that sufficient supplies would always be available for the needs of the United States and the Allies. In the matter of wheat, the request for the voluntary use of substitutes was supplemented by the order that after March 20, 1918, all bread and rolls should contain only 80% of wheat flour. A later order compelled dealers to sell wheat flour only when an equal amount of substitutes was purchased. This was followed by the sale after September 1, of "Liberty Flour," only containing 80% of wheat flour. The conservation of grains for food was effected by the prohibition of the distilling of grain by the food control act, and by restrictions placed upon breweries by the Fuel and Food Administrations. Detailed orders issued October 21 regulated minutely the serving of food in public eating places.

To a certain extent, also, the Food Administration aided in the conservation of other commodities. By means of voluntary agreements entered into with manufacturers of War Service Committees to reduce the use of metal containers in which foods were packed to eliminate odd and small sizes of packages, etc., tin, steel, labor and transportation were saved.

V. FUEL CONTROL.

With shipping and food at the top of the list of war requirements, fuel was easily next as the country passed into war. On April 27, 1917, the Council of National Defense constituted its Committee on Coal Production under the control of men drawn from and representing the fuel industries, and this committee proceeded to stimulate the output and expedite the shipment of anthracite and bituminous coal, of coke, and fuel oil. The committee organized early in May. The preceding year had set a record in fuel production, making it abnormally difficult to increase this still further to meet the needs of war.

Several agents contributed facts in making up the statistical base of fuel control. The Bureau of Mines had long been collecting delayed data, and had in 1915 begun partial but frequent reports on coal shipments. The Interstate Commerce Commission was engaged in fixing certain coal rates. The Federal Trade Commission had data originating in an attempt to fix costs. Various trade associations had figures brought together for their own use, but made avail-

able for war purposes. The net result of all the data available in the summer of 1917 was a conclusion that demand exceeded probable supply, that supply probably exceeded transportation capacity, and that the industries of war would intensify the shortages. There was an estimated shortage of 50,000,000 tons (or about 10% of a year's supply) for the year beginning November, 1917.

All the commodity committees that worked with the Council of National Defense were embarrassed by the restrictions of the act of August 10. Fuel, however, like food, was placed directly under Presidential control, and on August 22, 1917, the creation of the United States Fuel Administration provided special treatment for this group of commodities. In following months, while in other fields of industry the co-operative committees were being replaced by War Service Committees of Industry and by commodity sections of government boards, the Fuel and Food Administrations worked out parallel systems on their own account.

The specific powers of the Fuel Administrator (which embraced all those vested by law in the President), included fixing of prices and licensing of trade. The license system was here used for the purpose of maintaining supervision, as elsewhere, in the food, trade, and general industry fields. The policies of the administration broadened and became more comprehensive as fuller knowledge of the field developed. Weekly reports on coal production began to come from the Bureau of Mines by June; by September they had become about 50% complete; during the next year their completeness reached 95%, and daily and weekly estimates and revised permanent figures became available for the Fuel Administration.

In December, 1917, all contracts for sale of coal or coke were required to be made at established prices, and to be subject to diversion, requisition, or cancellation, upon order of the Fuel Administrator. The figures thus derived became a check upon the car-load shipment figures turned in by the railroad carriers. In March, 1918, after the fuel famine of January, and the temporary expedient of coalless days and lightless nights, all fuel dealers were brought under the license system and required to make standard reports to show still further the course of their business. A zone system of distribution, effective in April, endeavored to eliminate cross-hauling of coal, and to provide each zone with local coal by the most direct route. This cut off the supply of anthracite from many regions, but it was expected to release cars enough to aid greatly in relieving freight congestion. The adoption of the zone and license system made it necessary to work out a coal budget for 1918-1919, allocating probable production to war work and rationing the surplus among non-war industries and domestic needs. Non-war industries were gradually brought within the scope of restrictive orders, in the early spring. Such industries as box-board, brick, and terra cotta makers, and

florists, were required to reduce consumption to determined percentages of coal consumed in 1917.

The Fuel Administrator necessarily, from his knowledge of production and requirement facts, became an important member of the Priority Committee, which in the summer of 1918 determined for all business the essential nature of the trade and the sequence and rate at which it might draw upon the raw materials and transportation of the United States.

The great factors in the fuel situation that were subject to control and that might be improved by such control, were conservation, production, and car service.

A Conservation Division was early formed with the obvious end of saving coal. It worked through a vigorous press campaign, and through the familiar machinery of "drives," to instil ideas of economy. It preached a doctrine of a cool house, and issued circulars upon furnace management. In larger ways it surveyed the fuel efficiency of power plants through an Industrial Furnace Section, and placed obstructions in the road of the least efficient of them. It studied the chemical fitness of different types of coal to particular demands, for the same purpose.

The stimulation of production, through a Production Division, involved the attempt to educate and inspire labor, to keep men on the job, and to lessen loss through holidays and drink. "You will never hear definitely of the disaster if it comes," declared the director to one of his mining audiences, "because the drive abroad will be successful just the same, but the disaster will be buried in the casualty lists." Advertising campaigns were resorted to, and tables of output were used to pit field against field, and mine against mine, in the race for production. At the cessation of hostilities there were 28 coal-producing districts, each under a Production Manager, with a Production Committee of workers and operators at every mine.

The Fuel Administration offices, at Washington, determined general policies, but worked through agents who became more decentralized as the war progressed. State fuel agents, familiar with the local requirements, were appointed and backed up. These worked in close co-operation with state councils of defense and the other regional or state federal agents, to keep the work away from Washington and to use to the utmost the local desire for co-operation.

Car service was a third of the factors subject to improvement. Various committees in charge of this functioned with the Fuel Administration, under such agencies as the Council of National Defense and the Interstate Commerce Commission. The Railroad Administration had for one of its main ends the furtherance of this; and during the autumn of 1918 it worked out with the Fuel Administration a co-operative scheme for securing output and car service figures so as to improve team work in moving fuel to the consumer.

The powers of the Fuel Administration were limited to the continuance of the war. Upon the sign-

ing of the armistice the less essential functions were quickly abandoned with the idea of a silent and gradual let down of such activities as were not to be continued under the Bureau of Mines or other permanent government agent.

VI. WAR INDUSTRIES BOARD.

The creation of the War Industries Board to act as a "clearing house for the war industry needs of the government" was determined upon by the Council of National Defense, July 28, 1917. The experience of the Council during the preceding months in attempting to meet the war requirements of the Army and Navy in the matter of munitions, supplies, and raw materials had demonstrated the necessity of a greater co-ordination and centralization of the activities of its numerous subordinate bodies. An additional reason for the creation of the Board was the criticism that had been directed against the co-operative committees of industry. It was expected that the new board would insure the complete disassociation of these committees from the actual arrangement of purchases.

The War Industries Board was created as a subordinate body of the Council under whose direction and control it was to work. Its purpose was to advise how to meet the needs of the government, to increase production, to secure priority for government orders, to consider price factors and questions affecting purchase. It superseded and assumed the duties of the General Munitions Board, and gradually absorbed most of the functions of the Council which were not transferred to other agencies of the government. Its activities during the period from its creation to its reorganization in March, 1918, fall under three heads—procurement, priority, and prices.

In the matter of procuring supplies for the Army and Navy, the War Industries Board acted in an advisory capacity only. In co-operation with the various sub-committees of industry which had been organized under the committee on supplies of the Council, the board made recommendations to the departments, upon request, as to where, with whom, and upon what terms contracts should be placed. These recommendations were generally acted upon by the proper purchasing authorities without question. Upon the dissolution of the co-operative committees of industry, the War Industries Board began the creation of its commodity sections, each in charge of a specialist in some particular industrial field. Through these sections and the War Service Committees that were formed by the industries themselves, the board was able to continue its co-operation with industry.

To secure preferences in production and delivery for government orders was one of the early duties of the co-operative committees of industry. Soon after the organization of the War Industries Board the power to enforce priority of production and of transportation was vested in a Priority Commissioner. The first formal priority order, made public September

21, 1917, provided for the division of all orders and work in iron and steel into four classes in the order of their importance, the classification to be determined and certified by the Priorities Committee, and directed manufacturers to observe this classification in the filling of orders. Other orders relative to priority of transportation were issued by the Priorities Commissioner of the War Industries Board, but these were rescinded December 31, and this phase of priority control exercised thereafter by the Railroad Administration.

An early statement by the War Industries Board emphasized as one of its chief purposes the assuring of supplies to the Government, to the Allies, and to the public at the same reasonable price. In attaining this purpose the practice of the board was to act as far as possible in co-operation with industry. Backed by the power of requisition vested in the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy and the priority control exercised by its Priority Committee, the War Industries Board made agreements with representatives of various industries that certain reasonable prices should be fixed, that wages and labor standards should not because of this be lowered, and that the filling of government orders should be expedited.

In December, 1917, and January, 1918, the purchasing system of the War Department was vigorously criticized both in and out of Congress. A Munitions Ministry was advocated. At the same time certain changes in the War Department were effected, and a reorganization of the War Industries Board ordered which largely increased its powers to control and direct the industries of the country.

The reorganization of the Board was outlined in a letter of March 4, 1918, from the President to the chairman of the War Industries Board, delegating large powers to him and to the board. The functions of the board as outlined in this letter were as follows:

"(1) The creation of new facilities and the disclosing, if necessary, the opening up, of new or additional sources of supply;

"(2) The conversion of existing facilities, where necessary, to new uses;

"(3) The studious conservation of resources and facilities by scientific, commercial and industrial economies;

"(4) Advice to the several purchasing agencies of the Government with regard to the prices to be paid;

"(5) The determination, wherever necessary, of priorities of production and of delivery and of the proportions of any given article to be made immediately accessible to the several purchasing agencies when the supply of that article is insufficient, either temporarily or permanently;

"(6) The making of purchases for the Allies."

The authority thus delegated to the War Industries Board was centralized in the chairman, to whom was left the ultimate decision of all questions save those

regarding the determination of prices. In the matter of advice to the purchasing agents of the government regarding prices, the chairman was to be governed by the advice of a committee consisting of himself, the members of the Board in charge of raw materials and manufactured products, the labor member of the Board, the chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, the chairman of the Tariff Commission, and the Fuel Administrator.

Thus reorganized, and under the powers granted to the President by the Overman Act made independent of the Council of National Defense, the War Industries Board exercised an increasingly strict control over the industries of the country. Its whole purpose in exercising this control was to secure for the United States and the Allies an adequate supply of those products of industry necessary for a successful prosecution of the war, while at the same time protecting both producer and consumer from the disorganization that might fall on the uncontrolled demand of war conditions upon the industrial resources of the country.

Provision for the needs of the Government and Allies was made by the Requirements Division. Provided with detailed estimates by the several supply departments of the Government and by the Allies Purchasing Commission, this division made detailed plans for obtaining these supplies. In this work it was aided by the several commodity sections of the War Industries Board which kept in close touch, by means of the War Service Committees, and otherwise, with conditions in their particular industrial fields.

In order to meet the needs of the government and the Allies as thus outlined to the Requirements Division, a thoroughgoing control of industry was made necessary. This was effected largely by the Priorities Division in co-operation with the Fuel and Railroad Administrations. By controlling priorities of production and delivery, it was possible to insure maximum production from industries engaged in war work, where shortages of materials existed to see that these materials were used for necessary war products, and to convert to war work, curtail, or destroy industries not contributing to the winning of the war.

From time to time the War Industries Board issued preference lists for the guidance of government agencies in the distribution of coal and coke, and in the furnishing of transportation facilities. The first lists made no attempt to distinguish between those industries to which preference should be given, but that of September 8, 1918, listed industries in four classes in the order of their importance. On the basis of this classification they were to be accorded facilities, fuel, materials, labor, and transportation.

The Conservation Division effected considerable savings in materials, labor and transportation by securing from manufacturers co-operation in plans to curtail useless styles, standardize various manufactured products, and reduce the number of varieties of certain products.

The reorganized War Industries Board continued

and extended its policy of price regulation by joint agreement with the industries concerned. Prices were fixed, subject to periodical revision, on aluminum, cement, copper, hides, lumber, steel, wool, zinc, and other necessary materials.

VII. WAR TRADE.

The basic arrangement for the control of food, fuel, shipping and general industry were well advanced before agencies were developed to study the possibilities of concealed enemy trade, and its further restriction. The corporate organization of industry throughout the world had made it easy to conceal real ownership behind misleading corporate titles. The political and commercial control of raw materials were by no means the same, and in many cases German control of branches of industry remained active even within the countries allied against the Central Powers, while there was a persistent leakage into the Central Powers, through the European neutrals, of both credits and supplies.

The attempts of Great Britain to check this enemy trade in the period 1914-1917 produced sharp differences of opinion between the Allies and the United States. The old international law of contraband had lost its significance with modern warfare, since with the whole nation directly organized for war it had become impossible to say that supplies for civilian use—lard, leather, cotton, etc.—were a less vital military need than ordnance intended directly for the armies in the field. The old law of blockade had similarly changed because of the tools employed both for blockade and evasion. In breaking up trade with the Central Powers, Great Britain had extended and modified the principle of the broken voyage, and had prepared blacklists of neutral firms that appeared really to represent enemy interests. Through the ownership and control of tonnage Great Britain had possessed a lever for the control of commerce, and had used it freely.

Until the passage of the espionage act, June 15, 1917, there were no powers in the hands of the President for coping with enemy trade except those inherent in the military censorship which he exercised as Commander-in-Chief. This act greatly enlarged his control, in time of war, over the wants, passports, and exports from the United States, and made it practicable to enter in co-operation with the other Allies, upon the task of still further reducing the assistance derived by Germany from the outside world.

By proclamation issued (June 12, 1917) under the espionage act, the President created an Export Control Council, consisting of cabinet officers (State, War, Navy and Commerce), and these shortly organized a bureau of Export Licenses. Around this bureau the various activities of the Council grouped themselves. An advisory board included the heads of the food, fuel, shipping and other war bodies most concerned in the character and destination of the export trade. After the passage of the food and fuel act another Executive Order modified this arrangement, bringing into play on August 22, 1917, an Ex-

port Administrative Board, with similar duties but different personnel. This revised Board received and cleared applications for export licenses, determined amounts to be allowed to go overseas and allocated these amounts among neutral and allied countries.

Meanwhile the espionage act was under revision and enlargement in Congress, and broader views of the needful powers were shaping legislation.

The trading with the enemy act (October 6, 1917) created a War Trade Board, which was made effective by an Executive Order of October 12, 1917, and which in conjunction with the activities of the Alien Property Custodian, possessed full powers to curtail enemy trade.

It was the duty of the Alien Property Custodian to search out, segregate, and administer the property of alien enemies that might be found within the United States. Nearly one billion dollars of such property was found within a year, much of it concealed behind corporation screens or collusive ownership. Much of this was liquidated, the proceeds being converted into Liberty Bonds, and held by the Alien Property Custodian in trust. Some was operated by him, or merely held by him in the form of securities. Through this agency the roots of enemy profit from the United States were brought under observation and control.

The War Trade Board built up an elaborate machinery for the study and control of active enemy trade. Its "Journal," appearing for the first time November 1, 1917, published regularly its orders and rulings for the general information of the exporting public. The Board recognized that the "entrance of the United States upon the world war has worked a hardship" upon many countries, and desired "not to interfere with legitimate needs," and was anxious that "necessary exports continue." Through its bureaus it studied the problem that was to be administered by its licenses.

Its Bureaus of Imports and Exports, of Enemy Trade, and Transportation, worked upon the development of a balanced program to isolate the Central Powers with a minimum of destruction of neutral or allied interests. It had Bureaus of Research and of Tabulation and Statistics to bring the resources and methods of scholarship to the support of its policies. Through Bureaus of War Trade Intelligence and Foreign Agents and Reports it picked up the trading gossip of the world, learned of neutral firms with enemy affiliations, developed lists of suspected persons and companies wherever situated, and sought to lessen their power to aid the enemy. The work was done in co-operation with the postal and cable censorship.

The work of the War Trade Board was in most instances qualitative, and not to be reduced in quantity terms. Its function was to check enemy trade by means of all the knowledge that could be derived from any sources. Necessarily it was forced to regulate and supervise all foreign trade in order to reach enemy trade. Hence it was forced to create machinery for wholesale issuance of licenses; to publish rules, regu-

lations and journals; to issue export conservation lists; to adopt programs for rationing useful enterprises and destroying noxious ones. The chief problem in its demobilization was the wisdom of destroying an agency that had, under the pressure of great emergency, been able to a considerable extent, to serve foreign trade with exact knowledge.

VIII. WAR FINANCE.

At the outbreak of the war in Europe the United States Government was living upon revenues derived under the act of October 3, 1913, commonly known as the Underwood-Simmons act. This bill, in conformity with old national policy, raised a large share of its total revenue from duties upon imports. The law had not operated long enough for its full revenue capacity to be revealed. But the cessation of foreign trade occasioned by the war and blockade reduced imports and the revenue derived from them so greatly as to embarrass the national income, and to compel Congress to enact emergency legislation increasing the income derived from internal revenue. The income tax was enlarged incidentally to this revision of revenue, based upon the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution which had become effective in 1913.

Upon American entry into the War of 1917 it was at once necessary to provide a financial basis for huge and inevitable expenditures. The relative shares to be borne by taxation and by loans became a topic of animated debate in and out of Congress. A "pay-as-you-go-war" movement desired immediate taxation at a high rate in order to lessen the burden which loans would impose upon posterity. This movement received the backing of those who desired to use the legislation as a means to curtail great fortunes and private wealth, as well as those who desired an economical use of public resources. The progress of opinion was, throughout the war, in the direction of steadily increasing immediate fiscal burdens; and rates which were denounced as destructive in April, 1917, were regarded with equanimity or discarded as too low in November, 1918.

Before a new revenue bill could become operative upon any basis, loans were necessary. The first bond bill, authorizing an issue of non-taxable bonds, became a law April 24, 1917, the earliest of the great war statutes. This law sketched the foundations for the policy of loans. It authorized an anticipation of loan payments through the sale of short-term Treasury Certificates of Indebtedness, and permitted the loan to nations associated with the United States in the war against the Central Powers of sums nearly as great as those authorized to be raised for expenditure by the United States itself. Under this act the First Liberty Loan was placed in June, netting \$3,035,000,000.

The war revenue bill of 1917 became a law on October 3, after a summer of violent debate upon ratio of taxes to loans and incidence of taxation. It yielded \$3,694,000,000, at the collection date, June,

1918, and has been described by a leading fiscal economist as "the most gigantic fiscal enactment in history." Its most striking novelty, in addition to its general increase of rates, was in the field of income taxation, where an attempt to tax "excess profits" was made on a large scale. "Excess profits," as contemplated in the bill, were the excess of 1917 profits over the average of certain pre-war years. In this year the total of income tax receipts (including the excess profits tax) was about \$2,839,000,000 as against \$359,000,000 in the year ending June 30, 1917.

The Second and Third Liberty Loans had been placed before the revenues from war taxation became available. These produced \$3,808,000,000 and \$4,170,000,000, respectively, upon terms differing in detail from those of the First Liberty Loan. Out of the proceeds, there continued the steady flow of loans to Allies, while the issuance of Treasury Certificates of Indebtedness settled down to a fixed routine. Following the Third Loan it became the expectation of the Treasury that banks would systematically take these certificates at every issue, at a rate fixed by the amount of their gross assets. Between the Third and Fourth Loans seven bi-weekly issues of these certificates, in anticipation of the Fourth Loan, brought in about \$4,500,000,000. The sale of these certificates had the effect of determining the size of successive loans, of producing immediate funds, and of distributing the burdens of war finance more evenly upon the lending public.

The needs of the National Treasury for most of the accumulating savings of the country brought to the fore the need to restrict the use of credit for private or non-war account, and the equal need to ensure the extension of proper credit to war industries. Through the Federal Reserve Board the Treasury undertook these duties. The Capital Issues Committee of the Federal Reserve Board began in January, 1918, to exert pressure upon bankers to refuse credits to new non-war enterprises. This action was entirely voluntary and informal. Congress was asked to give it special sanction, and passed, on April 5, 1918, a law legitimating this policy of repression of non-war credits, and authorizing also the creation of a government-owned War Finance Corporation to assist in securing credits for certain types of essential work. The procedure of the War Finance Corporation was to bind funds to banks which had themselves advanced funds to the War Industries. The War Industries Board was in active co-operation in this program of conservation of credit through its ban upon non-war construction, administered through its control of priorities. On June 4, 1918, the Capital Issues Committee issued its Circular No. 1 "containing its regulations for the conservation of financial resources, labor, and material, so that they may be available for uses essential to the prosecution of the war." During the floating of the Fourth Liberty Loan all offering of new private securities was stopped.

A new revenue act was asked for by the Secretary of the Treasury and the President in May, 1918. This act continued under debate through the summer and fall, and had not passed when the Fourth Liberty Loan was floated in October, yielding \$6,866,000,000, or when the armistice was signed. A revision of its program to embrace the needs of a probable return to peace seemed likely before its final passage.

The financial mobilization, up to November, 1918, involved great campaigns for thrift and lending, the curtailment of private financial ventures, and the enactment of sweeping revenue laws. Prices had risen steadily throughout the war, whether from scarcity, inflation, or the continued depreciation of gold; or from an admixture of these causes. The effect of price-fixing by Government war agencies had tended more to stabilize and to equalize distribution of goods than to keep down the level of the cost of living. In substance price-fixing had tended to distribute the cost of rising prices upon the whole population, while the fiscal program had tended to lessen the gains of those persons whose strategic position had given them large or swollen incomes. There had been some scarcity of basic commodities, mitigated by the attempts at allocation; there was also some inflation whose extent could be determined only by future experience.

IX. RAILROAD CONTROL.

Between 1914 and 1917 the American railroad system was struggling to carry the normal traffic of the country, congested and swollen in spots by the abnormal demands made by the manufacture and export of materials for European belligerents. The ordinary increases of track and betterments and replacements of rolling stock and right of way had for some years failed to keep pace with the increase of traffic. Rising prices and increased wages had cut into profits, while earnings had been kept in check by state and national railroad commissions. Between the insistent popular demand for rate reductions and the demands of labor for higher wages, the railroad managers had been driven to economies, and the plants had somewhat deteriorated.

The Interstate Commerce Commission was still at work upon its valuation for physical property, but no report had as yet been rendered as a base for rate fixing. During 1916 there had been serious controversy over wages, resulting in Congressional interference and in an investigation whose result still further depleted the revenues of the roads. In the vicinity of the seaports there were periods of severe congestion and delay.

Like other organizations of industry, the American Railway Association offered its services to the government in the approach of war. On April 11, 1917, the Railroads' War Board was launched as a consequence of this. The Board spoke for and represented the railroads, and became a co-operative committee of the Council of National Defense, thus bringing the men responsible for the continuous unimpeded

flow of traffic into contact with the other mobilized groups of industrial managers.

Certain large emergency tasks confronted the Railroads' War Board. First, there was movement of material to sites of new cantonments and new shipyards, and new munition plants. As these sites were selected during the early summer, new currents of freights started to flow toward them, carrying timber, building materials, steel and coal, and personnel. After this came the troop movements, carrying selected men to camp, and then the heavy flow of supplies toward the port of embarkation, for the use of allied peoples, and armies.

Car service was the kernel of the emergency transportation. Through the Car Service Commission of the American Railway Association, working with the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Council of National Defense, and the State Councils of Defense, the freight cars of the country were pooled, and used where needed without reference to ownership by any road. Shippers and receivers were stimulated to prompt turnovers so as to lessen the periods of inaction. A Highways Transport Committee (of C. N. D.) was formed to develop supplementary transportation by road and truck.

As the autumn of 1917 advanced, the growing complications of the military program, and the unusual needs for fuel occasioned by an early winter as well as swollen war industry demands, threatened to break down the railroad system. The Fuel Administrator sought to lessen the danger by inaugurating a zone system of fuel distribution and better routing. The Priority Board tried to serve most pressing needs by a system of priorities (under Act of August 10, 1917), and finally at the end of the year the President, under a provision of the act of August 29, 1916, assumed military control of the railroad system and named the Secretary of the Treasury as Director General of Railroads.

The Director General took charge of 2,905 railroad companies, operating 397,014 miles of track by some 1,700,814 employees, with about nineteen billion dollars of outstanding securities. The first phase of national administration of railroads was to keep freight moving, and relieve congestion. During January excessively cold weather tied up many lines, and unloaded freight cars accumulated around the ports because of inadequate shipping and handlers to carry freight overseas. The next phase was the passage of a compensation act authorizing the Director General to negotiate a contract with the owners of railroad property for compensation upon the basis of the average of three-years' earnings. This act became a law on March 21, 1918. Under this act came the building up of a new administrative machine directly responsible to the Director General, and working for decentralization through regional districts and local management. Problems of short-line railroads and of inland and coastwise traffic had to be worked out. The demands of railroad labor were met by sweeping wage increases. Consolidation

of ticket offices, and terminals, and a consideration of betterments from the standpoint of the whole national system, brought about a deep change in the spirit of railroad management. During the summer the express companies were taken over by the Railroad Administration through the American Railroad Express Corporation; and telegraph and telephone companies, under an act of July 16, 1918, were taken over by the Postmaster General.

With the advance of spring, 1918, the abnormal delays due to storm and fuel demand lessened, and the Railroad Administration made progress towards an organized team work. The various war boards began to understand their aims and problems, and to devise measures of relief based less on guess work and more upon knowledge of requirements and resources.

The control of car service remained the practical test of efficiency. The continuance of the military program depended upon proper deliveries of fuel and war materials at factory doors, without too much displacement of essential civil needs. The Food and Fuel Administration, through their Inland Traffic Managers, made continuous study of needs and methods. Their representatives, with those of the principal branches of administration, including the Shipping Board and the Railroad Administration, sat regularly with the Priorities Board to determine the sequence of military and civil needs, and to clear requests from various procurement divisions for supplies or transportation.

The labor problem was likewise affected by the question of priorities, and the devotion of the United States Employment Service to the demands of war industry. The enlistments for the railroad regiments had depleted the store of skilled men, while the draft had drawn heavily upon the unskilled. Substitution of women for men was attempted in many cases. The general policy of the Railroad Administration was to meet the demands of labor, and to recognize the rising cost of living as a proper reason for a demand for higher wages. The Unions were fully recognized, and were dealt with by Railroad Boards of Adjustment, of which two were in operation in November, 1918.

The signing of the armistice found the Railroad Administration prepared for the trials of the second winter of war, but untested by them. With the lessening of the pressure from the war program, a discussion of the permanent railroad policy of the United States began.

X. LABOR AND EMPLOYMENT.

When fighting ceased the most obvious activities of the Department of Labor in the fulfillment of its mission to serve and stimulate labor in the war tasks, were represented by the National War Labor Policies Board, the National War Labor Board, the United States Employment Service and the Housing Bureau. These bodies existed as the result of an evolution within the Department similar to that which in other fields produced new war boards outside and

by the side of the old governing bodies. The Food and Fuel and Railroad Administrations were not attached respectively to the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Mines, and the Interstate Commerce Commission. The labor policies of the war produced new bureaus and departments as organic parts of the pre-existing Department.

The Department of Labor had just been given independent standing by act of 1913, when Europe went to war. Hitherto, for nearly thirty years, labor matters had always been attached to something else, to the Department of Interior or that of Commerce and Labor. Its projected duties embraced immigration control, employment and conciliation services, and the general study and distribution of the facts of labor. These were under continuous revision throughout the war.

The Council of National Defense, through its Advisory Commission, created a Labor Committee; and this Labor Committee was closely identified with the American Federation of Labor and the American Alliance of Labor and Democracy (which was organized to stimulate labor morale in August, 1917). As early as February 28, 1917, the Labor Committee began its mobilization of the forces of organized labor, resulting in resolutions of April 6, which established the policy of labor in favor of full co-operation in efforts of the war.

War industry necessarily created new and heavy demands upon the labor market, while the novelty of jobs and inexperience of workmen produced constant discussion of rates and conditions of labor. The rising scale of prices tended to lessen the comfort of any wage scale; the injection of women and the dilution of labor affected the standing of piece-work; different industries could not refrain from bidding against each other; and the withdrawal of labor into the army created a necessary scarcity. Each of the great war production agencies organized its own adjustment board, and tried to solve its problems internally until the magnitude of the task became clearly national.

A Cantonments Adjustment Commission was one of the earliest of the emergency boards, created to solve the grievances of carpenters and others in the new camps. A Shipping Board Adjustment Board handled the cases arising in the numerous plants used by the Emergency Fleet Corporation. The President's Mediation Commission in the autumn visited and studied labor on the Pacific Coast and in the mining area, while a new government-directed Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen arose in time of need in the spruce forests of the Northwest. These bodies were only symptomatic of the great problem produced by confusion of demand and rising cost of living. They provide the incentive for a reorganization of the Labor Department.

In January, 1918, the Department of Labor, with the approval of the Council of National Defense and of the President, took over the formulation of a war labor policy and the administration of it. An advisory council of employers, economists, workmen,

women, and general public, was created to advise the Secretary of Labor, with the result that in April there was an expansion of functions with numerous sections directed at major problems. The adjustment service planned at this time was subsequently modified in the National War Labor Board. Housing and employment services took on administrative duties. Women in Industry, Training and Dilution, and Information and Education Services took on duties mostly educative. The former activities of the department were not abandoned, but they were directed into war necessities.

Simultaneously with the reorganization of the Department of Labor, a War Labor Conference Board was summoned to bring labor and its employers together. Representatives of the National Industrial Conference Board and of the American Federation of Labor, five each, with two at large, worked out a unanimous report upon the underlying principles to be conserved in labor adjustment. To enforce these recommendations the personnel of the board was appointed in a body by the President to the National War Labor Board (April 9, 1918), which proceeded until November to sit as a court of final appeal in labor disputes. No cases were heard by this body until every local means of adjustment had been exhausted. After this the National War Labor Board, through its mediators and decisions, heard the cases.

The National War Labor Policies Board was added to the systems to continue the formulation of additional general rules to be used by the National War Labor Board in making its judgments. This body was representative in character, embracing the great agents of the war program; Labor, War, Navy and Agriculture Departments; War Industries, and Shipping Boards; Food, Fuel and Railroad Administrations. It cleared the labor problems much as the Priorities Committee, equally representative, cleared the war requirements. It functioned parallel to the National War Labor Board until the armistice.

Besides the adjustment of disputes there was the continuous service of labor to be performed. The Training and Dilution Service organized courses to make easier the employment of the untrained. The Employment Service expanded to cover the nation, and to have exclusive control of the recruiting of unskilled labor. This exclusive organization was launched August 1. Thereafter the local offices were active in placement of labor, and organized in their regions community Labor Boards which acted as their advisers, and which later took part in the industrial surveys instituted by the War Industries Board and the Housing Bureau. In demobilization and labor re-settlement this service and these boards were expected to play an active part.

The housing of labor was an unavoidable part of the war program. Every shipyard, every navy yard or ordnance plant, and most of the industrial establishments at work on war contracts found their labor impaired by the discomforts of life in congested and inadequate towns, and by the lack of homes. The Council of National Defense realized the problem in

1917, and created a Housing Committee. In the early spring the Emergency Fleet Corporation secured a specific appropriation for shipyard housing. A little later (May 16, 1918) funds were given to the Department of Labor for housing projects throughout the country. By means of its Housing Corporation the Department administered this new emergency task, having under way or projected when the war stopped a long list of projects for providing the national needs of the war communities.

Before demobilization could reach the Department of Labor, the resettlement of the soldier labor had to take place, the housing program had to be liquidated, and a permanent status for the Employment Service and other services had to be evolved.

XI. DEMOBILIZATION.

The signing of an armistice, November 11, 1918, found the United States with economic organs just preparing to function freely and fully in the conduct of war. The first conspectus of progress prepared by the Central Bureau of Planning and Statistics to serve as a basis for future operations was just ready to be laid before department executives. Its preparation had revealed the present deficiencies in the economic administrative machinery of the United States, but it had shown the existence of a practical and effective organization for handling the larger and more insistent problems. Facing a period of demobilization, in which economic machinery, as well as military, must expect reduction, the line separating the permanent institutions of government and the temporary war-time establishments stood out in distinct importance.

No elaborate administrative agency had been created since the reorganizations following the Overman act (May 20, 1918). At that time under the powers then conferred upon the President, the aircraft and chemical warfare administrations had been reshaped, and the War Industries Board had been divorced from the Council of National Defense and erected as an independent bureau by Executive order. The need was recognized to comprise not new boards or offices, but better co-ordination and team work among existing ones. This special purpose gave the impetus to the formation of the Central Bureau of Planning and Statistics, under the general oversight of the chairman of the War Industries Board.

There had been nothing in economic affairs to compare with the centralized policy-forming powers of the General Staff of the Army. This General Staff arose after the Spanish War—in legislation of 1903; and had progressed slowly in the ensuing years. The National Defense Act (1916) gave it a new lease of life, and in the preparation of war plans its influence steadily developed throughout the war. In civil affairs there were only un-co-ordinated good will and enthusiasm. It was in connection with the execution of the shipping program that the need for co-ordination emerged and received attention.

Throughout the summer of 1917, the distinctive features in shipping were the opening and enlarging

of yards, the building of ships, anywhere and by anybody who seemed likely to be able to deliver. In the autumn the inadequacy of tonnage to the need for it forced a consideration, without precedent in the United States, of the relation of tonnage to imports and exports, and the relation of these to the military program and the minimum needs of civil populations. This was intensified in March and April, 1918, when the military program was speeded up and the army began to flow into France at a rate approaching 250,000 per month.

A division of Planning and Statistics in the Shipping Board was set to studying the relations of tons to trade, with a view to allocation and control of space, since the Shipping Board was bound to find the space. It soon became clear that any program of shipping was deeply involved in the output of American factories, and the whole program of procurement and production for military and civil needs. The War Industries Board, daily acquiring more responsibilities in this, established its own Division of Planning and Statistics to study the manufactures that might call for tonnage space. The War Trade Board was next drawn in. Controlling as it did the fields of trading with the enemy, and having duties of licensing exports in connection with this control, it organized Bureaus of Research and Tabulation and Statistics to gather and study the facts of foreign and enemy requirements, in their relations to American export trade.

The similarities inherent in the problems of industry, shipping, and export trade, gave rise to a need which was attempted to be met by the Central Bureau of Planning and Statistics, which became at once a clearing house for statistical materials, and was preparing to function more directly in war planning as the war ended.

Around the problems of production and trade, altered as they were by war, and controlled largely by agencies that must expire with the final peace, were the related machines touching upon finance (public and private) upon direct manufacture for war need, upon labor and its conditions of life and wages.

The fundamental agencies of finance were under the control of the Secretary of the Treasury. Some of them, like the Capital Issues Committee and the War Finance Corporation, were by law to terminate at fixed intervals after the war. Others, inside the regular Treasury organization, had to do with the collection of revenues and the placing of Liberty

Loans. The four Liberty Loans placed prior to the armistice had generally been anticipated and expended before collection through the issues of Treasury Certificates of Indebtedness. By a similar machinery the revenue due in 1919 had been partly anticipated. A new revenue bill, to replace the act of October, 1917, was pending in Congress in November. Unless it should pass, the future funds to be anticipated would be those acquired through future Liberty Loans or under the Act of 1917.

Private demands upon finance had been restricted not only by the Capital Issues Committee, but by the various priority and conservation orders of the War Industries Board. Since the curtailment of war requirements made it possible to lighten these restrictions immediately, there was reason to suppose that banking and finance would speedily adjust itself through the ordinary mechanism of the Federal Reserve Board.

War needs led to direct novelties in American industry, many of them based upon specific war legislation. The various government-owned corporations (Emergency Fleet, Spruce, War Finance, Grain, etc.) had property and obligations to be adjusted to business and trade requirements. The Shipping Board had to establish a peace policy. The ordnance and equipment plants had to dissolve or reduce or convert, limited at one end by the curtailment of contracts and at the other by the desire to avoid industrial dislocation and to ease off the labor re-settlement.

Labor had erected and was working under its series of war and emergency pacts. In the near future it could foresee dislocation and re-settlement, absorption of the returned soldier labor, and reversion to its own industrial program. For its assistance the United States Employment Service and the various surveys of the Department of Labor and the War Industries Board were operating in their expanded form due to the war conditions. The novelties of negotiation and contract, of housing and technical education, were still to be considered in their permanent relations to life in time of peace.

The termination of hostilities found the United States with one great army in France, another, greater, in camp or mobilizing, with a program for maintaining these and the navy just reaching the stage of quantity production; with industry and economic life more fully mobilized behind the military forces than at any other period in American history.

Periodical Literature

EDITED BY GERTRUDE BRAMLETTE RICHARDS,
PH.D.

"German Militarism in the Twelfth Century," by C. C. J. Webb (*Hibbert Journal* for October), gives an interesting light on the relations of Germany and France in the day of Frederick Barbarossa. "An arrogant militarism prompt to threaten and nervously sensitive to ridicule was evidently regarded as characteristic of the German Empire in the twelfth century by its French neighbors." G. C. Coulton's "Miracles and the Medieval Mind," in the same issue, endeavors to find some evidence of logic and tolerance in the medieval mind.

Richard Orland Atkinson gives an interesting account of New Russia in his "Christmas in a Y. M. C. A. Hut on the Russian Front" (*Harper's* for December).

Raoul Blanchard's "An American Battlefield," in the December *Atlantic*, gives an excellent idea of the geographic obstacles met by the American soldiers when they made their debut on French battlefields.

Ignace Jan Paderewski's plea, "An Independent Poland" (*World's Work* for December), is one of the best brief accounts of that war-stricken country which has yet appeared. In the same magazine is William Roscoe Thayer's suggestive article on "Peace Terms for Italy," based on her recovery of her lost provinces.

The latest number of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies* is the thesis of Roger Howell on "Privileges and Indemnities of State Citizenship," in which he takes up the history of the Comity Clauses Discriminating Legislation and the power of the States over foreign corporation.

William Oualid's "Special Problems of Reconstruction in France" (*Athenaeum* for October) calls attention to the essential differences of the peace problems of France and of Great Britain.

The article on "Catholic Doctrine on the Right of Self-Government" in the *Catholic World* for December, is the first of two articles on the teachings of the church on the foundations of the state, through the past and in different countries.

Dr. C. Hagberg Wright, in his "Bolshevish Ideals and Their Failure" (*Contemporary Review* for November), says that in Russia two things are indispensable: "First, social democracy, an urban thing, shaped and furthered chiefly by the characteristics and results of urban industry, should get rid of its urban limitations and adapt itself to the peasants who form by far the larger part of the Russian people; and, secondly, a Constitutional Assembly should be convened."

The address given by Professor Barrett Wendell on "Conflict of Idolatries" to the Harvard Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa, June, 1918, is published in the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* for November. Perhaps the keynote of the address lies in the words, "the very insistence of the popular appeal [for democracy] may be an unperceived evidence of how nearly we ourselves are losing sight of the ends we seek in admiration of the means through which we happen to be seeking."

Most valuable as well as most interesting is Sidney Brooks' "What the War Has Done for America" in the *Fortnightly Review* for November. Mr. Brooks says the change wrought in American commercial fortunes is one not merely of volume, but of character and direction. Be-

fore the war America's participation in international finance was fitful and meagre, and even now the general American point of view is national rather than international in scope. The re-birth of the American Merchant Marine is one of the greatest facts, and its consequences among the least calculable of the war. But not only in material things is America changed. She saved her soul by renouncing her neutrality, and the idealism, which neutrality and a deluge of wealth were threatening to suffocate, burst forth in its old splendor. Last of all, there has been an enlargement of her political horizon and of her political interests. She has realized the interdependence of the universe and the impossibility of any country with world-wide interests hugging itself into political isolation.

I. L. Kandell's article on "Educational Progress in England" (*Educational Review* for December) is an estimate of the result of the Fisher Education Act of August, 1918, which he calls the "Children's Charter," and which, he says, inaugurates a new era as embodying the first attempt for truly national education. The Act is a part of a broader program for reconstruction, and means a general improvement along the lines of the administration organization of education. It also provides for government control of child-labor.

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